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Charles Folley

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Utopia  
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UTOPIA, WRITTEN BY SIR  
THOMAS MORE.





foreword by William Morris ❀ ❀



ALPH Robinson's translation of More's *Utopia* would not need any foreword if it were to be looked upon merely as a beautiful book embodying the curious fancies of a great writer & thinker of the period of the Renaissance. No doubt till within the last few years it has been considered by the moderns as nothing more serious than a charming literary exercise, spiced with the interest given to it by the allusions to the history of the time, and by our knowledge of the career of its author. But the change of ideas concerning "the best state of a publique weale," which, I will venture to say, is the great event of the end of this century, has thrown a fresh light upon the book; so that now to some it seems not so much a regret for days which might have been, as (in its essence) a prediction of a state of society which will be. In short this work of the scholar and Catholic, of the man who resisted what has seemed to most the progres-

sive movement of his own time, has in our days become a Socialist tract familiar to the meetings and debating rooms of the political party which was but lately like "the cloud as big as a man's hand." Doubtless the *Utopia* is a necessary part of a Socialist's library; yet it seems to me that its value as a book for the study of sociology is rather historic than prophetic, & that we Socialists should look upon it as a link between the surviving Communism of the Middle Ages (become hopeless in More's time, & doomed to be soon wholly effaced by the advancing wave of Commercial Bureaucracy), and the hopeful & practical progressive movement of to-day. In fact I think More must be looked upon rather as the last of the old than the first of the new.

✪ Apart from what was yet alive in him of mediæval Communist tradition, the spirit of association, which amongst other things produced the Gilds, and which was strong in the Mediæval Catholic Church itself, other influences were at work to make him take up his parable against the new spirit of his Age.

The action of the period of transition from Mediæval to Commercial Society with all its brutalities, was before his eyes; and though he was not alone in his time in condemning the injustice and cruelty of the revolution which destroyed the peasant life of England, & turned it into a grazing farm for the moneyed gentry; creating withal at one stroke the propertyless wage/earner, and the masterless vagrant (hodie "pauper") yet he saw deeper into its root/causes than any other man of his own day, and left us little to add to his views on this point except a reasonable hope that those "causes" will yield to a better form of society before long.

Moreover the spirit of the Renaissance, itself the intellectual side of the very movement which he strove against, was strong in him, and doubtless helped to create his Utopia, by means of the contrast which it put before his eyes of the ideal free nations of the ancients, & the sordid welter of the struggle for power in the days of dying feudalism, of which he himself was a witness. This Renais-

sance enthusiasm has supplanted in him the chivalry feeling of the age just passing away. To him war is no longer a delight of the well born, but rather an ugly necessity, to be carried on, if so it must be, by ugly means. Hunting and hawking are no longer the choice pleasures of Knight & Lady, but are jeered at by him as foolish and unreasonable pieces of butchery: his pleasures are in the main the reasonable ones of learning & music. With all this, his imaginations of the past he must needs read into his ideal vision, together with his own experiences of his time & people. Not only are there bondslaves and a king, & priests almost adored, and cruel punishments for the breach of the marriage contract, in that happy island, but there is throughout an atmosphere of asceticism, which has a curiously blended savour of Cato the Censor and a mediæval monk.

On the subject of war; on capital punishment; the responsibility to the public of kings and other official personages, & such-like matters More speaks words that would not be out of place in

the mouth of an eighteenth century Jacobin; & at first sight this seems rather to show sympathy with what is now mere Whigism, than with Communism; but it must be remembered that opinions which have become (in words) the mere commonplace of ordinary bourgeois politicians, were then looked on as pieces of startlingly new & advanced thought, and do not put him on the same plane with the mere radical of the last generation.

In More then, are met together the man instinctively sympathetic with the Communistic side of Mediæval society; the protester against the ugly brutality of the earliest period of Commercialism; the enthusiast of the Renaissance, ever looking toward his idealised ancient society as the type and example of all really intelligent human life; the man tinged with the asceticism at once of the classical philosopher and of the monk; an asceticism indeed which he puts forward not so much as a duty, but rather as a kind of stern adornment of life.

These are we may say, the moods of the man who created Utopia for us; & all are



tempered and harmonised by a sensitive clearness & delicate beauty of style, which make the book a living work of art.

But lastly we Socialists cannot forget that these equalities and excellencies meet to produce a steady expression of the longing for a society of equality of condition; a society in which the individual man can scarcely conceive of his existence apart from the Commonwealth of which he forms a portion. This, which is the essence of his book, is the essence also of the struggle in which we are engaged. Though doubtless it was the pressure of circumstances in his own days that made More what he was, yet that pressure forced him to give us, not a vision of the triumph of the new-born capitalistic society, the element in which lived the new learning & the new freedom of thought of his epoch; but a picture (his own indeed, not ours) of the real New Birth which many men before him had desired; and which now indeed we may well hope is drawing near to realization, though after such a long series of events which at the time of their happening seemed to nullify his hopes completely.

A frutefull pleasaunt, and wittie  
worke, of the beste state of a pub/  
lique weale, & of the newe yle, call/  
ed Utopia : written in Latine, by  
theright worthie and famous Syr  
Thomas More knyght, and trans/  
lated into Englishe by Raphe Ro/  
bynson, sometime fellowe of Cor/  
pus Christi College in Oxford, &  
nowe by him at this seconde edi/  
tion newlie perused and corrected,  
and also with diuers notes in the  
margent augmented ✱ ✱ ✱ ✱ ✱  
Imprinted at London, by Abraham  
Wele, dwellinge in Pauls church/  
yarde, at the signe of the Lambe.





The translator to the gentle reader. ❀ ❀



THOU shalte understande gentle reader that though this worke of *Utopia* in english, come now the seconde tyme furth in print, yet was it never my minde nor intente, that it shoulde ever have bene imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose toke upon me at the firste the translation thereof: but did it onelye at the request of a frende, for his owne private use, upon hope that he wolde have kept it secrete to hym self alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very witty, & also skilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the latin tonge, he was not so well sene, as to be hable to judge of the finenes or coursenes of my translation. Wherefore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propoundinge to my selfe therein, rather to please my sayde frendes judgemente, then myne owne. To the meanesse of whose learninge I thoughte it my part to submit and attemper my stile. Lightlie therefore I over ran the whole woorke, & in shorte

tyme, with more hast then good spede,  
I brought it to an ende. But as the la-  
tin proverbe sayeth: The hastye biche  
bringeth furth blind whelpes. for when  
this my worke was finished, the rudenes  
therof shewed it to be done in poste  
haste. How be it, rude and base though  
it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter  
that to imprintinge it came, & that partly  
against my wyll. Howebeit not beinge  
hable in this behalfe to resist the pitthie  
persuasions of my frendes, & perceav-  
ing therfore none other remedy, but that  
furth it shoulde: I comforted my selfe  
for the tyme, only with this notable say-  
ing of Terence.

*Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas  
tesseris.*

*Si illud, quod est maxume opus iactu  
non cadit:*

*Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte ut  
corrigas.*

In which verses the poete likeneth or  
compareth the life of man to a diceplai-  
yng or a game at the tables: meanyng  
therin, if that chaunce rise not whiche  
is most for the plaiers advauntage, that

then the chaunce whiche fortune hathe sent, ought so connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier least dammage. By the which worthy similitude surely the wittie poete geueth us to understande, that though in any of our actes and do- ynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretended purpose, so that the successe & our in- tent prove thinges farre odde: yet so we ought with wittie circumspection to han- dle the matter, that no evyll or incommo- ditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in us lieth, do therof ensue. According to the whiche counsell, though I am in dede in comparision of an experte gamester & a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet have I in this by chaunce that on my side unwares hath fallen, so, I suppose, be- haved myself, that, as doubtles it might have bene of me much more conningly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any such sequele at the begin- ning of my plaie: so I am suer it had bene much worse then it is, if I had not in the ende looked somewhat earnestlye to my game. for though this worke came

not from me so fine, so perfect, and so exact, that at first, as surely for my smale lerning, it should have done, yf I had then ment the publishing therof in print: yet I trust I have now in this seconde edition taken about it such paines, that verie fewe great faultes & notable errors are in it to be founde. Now therefore, most gentle reader, the meanesse of this simple translation, and the faultes that be therein (as I feare muche there be some) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in just consideration of the premisses, gentlye and favourablye winke at them. So doynge thou shalt minister unto me good cause to thinke my labour and paynes herein not altogether bestowed in vaine. Vale.





Thomas More to Peter Giles, send-  
eth gretynge

**I** AM almoste ashamed, righte welbeloved Peter Giles, to send unto you this boke of the Utopian commen wealth, welniagh after a yeres space, whiche I am sure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no marveil. for you knewewellynough, that I was alreadye disbourdened of all the laboure and studye belongynge to the invention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the disposition or conveiaunce of the matter: & therfore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearse those thinges, whiche you and I togethers hard maister Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I shuld study to set forth the matter with eloquence: for asmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beyng firste, not studied for, but suddein & unpremeditate, & then, as you know, of a man better sene in the Greke language then in the latin tonge. And my

The  
Epistle

Trueth lo-  
veth sim-  
plicitie &  
playnes

writynge, the niegher it should approche to his homely plaine, and simple speche, so muche the niegher shuld it go to the trueth: which is the onelye marke wherunto I do and ought to directe all my travail and study herin. ¶ I graunte and confesse, frende Peter, myselfe discharged of so muche laboure, havinge all these thinges ready done to my hande, that almooste there was nothinge left for me to do. Elles, either the invention or the disposition of this matter, myghte have required of a witte, neither base, neither at all unlearned, both some time and leasure, and also some studie. But if it were requisite and necessarie that the matter shoulde also have bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a sueretic that thyngc coulde I have perfourmed by no tyme nor studye. ¶ But now seyngc all these cares, stayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles so muche laboure and studye shoulde have bene employed, and that there remayned no other thyngc forme to do, but onelye to write playnelie the matter as I hard it spoken: that in deede was a thyngc

lighte and easye to be done. Howbeit to the dispatchynge of thys so lytle busynesse, my other cares and troubles did leave almost lesse then no leasure.

**W**HILES I doo dayelie bestowe my time aboute lawe matters: some to pleade, some to heare, some as an arbitratoure with myne awarde to determine, some as an umpier or a judge, with my sentence finallye to discusse. Whiles I go one way to see and visite my frende: an other waye about myne owne privat affaires. Whiles I spende almost al the day abroad amonges other, and the residue at home among mine owne: I leave to my self, I meane to my booke, no time. for when I am come home, I muste commen with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke wyth my servauntes. All the whiche thinges I reckon and accompte amonge businesse, forasmuche as they muste of necessitie be done: and done must they nedes be, onelesse a man wyll be straunger in his owne house. And in anye wyse a man muste so fashyon and order hys conditions, and so appoint and dispose him

The  
authours  
busines  
and lettes

The  
Epistle

selfe, that he be merie, jocunde, and pleasaunt amonge them, whom eyther nature hath provided, or chaunce hath made, or he him selfe hath chosen to be the felowes and companions of hys life: so that with to muche gentle behavioure & familiaritie he do not marre them, and by to muche sufferance of his servauntes, make them his maysters.

**G**MONGE these thynges now rehearsed, stealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while have I spoken no worde of slepe, neyther yet of meate, which among a great number doth wast no lesse tyme then doeth slepe, wherein almoste halfe the life tyme of man crepeth awaye. I therefore do wyne and get onelye that tyme whiche I steale from slepe and meate.

**W**HICHE tyme, because it is very litle, and yet somewhat it is, therfore have I ones at the laste, though it belonge first, finished Utopia, and have sent it to you, frende Peter, to reade and peruse: to the intente that yf anye thyng have escaped me, you

Meate and  
slepe great  
wasters of  
time



might put me in remembraunce of it. for The  
thoughe in this behalfe I do not greatlye Epistle  
mistruste my selfe (whiche woulde God  
I were somewhat in wit and learninge, as  
I am not all of the worste and dullest  
memorye) yet have I not so great truste  
& confidence in it, that I thinke nothinge  
coulede fall out of my mynde.

**F**OR John Clement, my boye, who John Cle  
as you know was there presente ment  
with us, whome I suffer to be a-  
waye frome no talke, wherein maye be  
any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this  
yonge bladed and new shotte up corne,  
which hathe alreadye begon to spring up  
both in Latin & Greke learnyng, I loke for  
plentifull increase at length of goodly  
rype grayne) he, I saye, hathe broughte  
me into a greate doubte for wheras  
Hythlodaye (onelesse my memorye fayle  
me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote,  
whyche goethe over the river of Anyder,  
is fyve hundreth paseis, that is to saye,  
half a myle in lengthe: my John sayeth  
that two hundred of those paseis muste  
be plucked away, for that the ryver con-  
teyneth there not above three hundreth

The  
Epistle

A diversitie  
betwene  
making a  
lye, & tel-  
ling a lie

In what  
parte of  
the worlde  
Utopia  
standeth  
it is un-  
known

paseis in breadthe, I praye you hartelye  
call the matter to youre remembraunce  
¶ for yf you agree wyth hym, I also wyll  
saye as you saye, and confesse myselfe  
deceaved. But if you cannot remember  
the thing, then surelye I wyll write as I  
have done, and as myne owne remem-  
braunce serveth me. for as I wyll take  
good hede, that there be in my booke  
nothing false, so yf there be anye thyng  
doubtefull, I wyll rather tell a lye, then  
make a lie: bycause I had rather be good,  
then wylie. ¶ Howebeit thys matter maye  
easilye be remedied, yf you wyll take the  
paynes to aske the question of Raphael  
himselfe by woorde of mouthe, if he be  
nowe with you, or elles by youre letters.  
¶ Whiche you muste nedes do for an-  
other doubt also that hath chaunced,  
throughe whose faulte I cannot tel: whe-  
ther throughe mine, or yours, or Raph-  
aels. for neyther we remembred to en-  
quire of him, nor he to tel us, in what part  
of the newe world Utopia is situate. The  
whiche thinge, I had rather have spent  
no small somme of money, then that it  
should thus have escaped us: as well for

that I am ashamed to be ignoraunt in The  
 what sea that ylande standeth, wherof I Epistle  
 write so long a treatise, as also because  
 there be with us certen men, & especial-  
 lie one vertuous and godly man, & a pro-  
 fessour of diuinitie, who is excedyng  
 desierous to go unto Utopia: not for a  
 vayne & curious desyre to see newes, but  
 to the intente he may further & increase  
 oure religion, which is there alreadye  
 luckelye begonne. And that he maye  
 the better accomplyshe and perfourme  
 this hys good intente, he is mynded to  
 procure that he maye be sente thether by  
 the hieghe Byshoppe: yea, and that he  
 himselfe may be made Bishoppe of Uto-  
 pia, beyng nothyng scrupulous herein,  
 that he muste obteyne thys Byshopricke  
 with suete. for he counteth that a godly  
 suete, which procedeth not of the desire  
 of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie  
 zeale.

**W**HEREFORE I moste earnestly  
 desire you, frende Peter, to  
 talke with Hythlodaye, yf you  
 can, face to face, or els to wryte youre  
 letters to hym, and so to woorke in thys

It is  
 thoughte  
 of some  
 that here  
 is unfain/  
 edly ment  
 the late fa/  
 mous vi/  
 care of  
 Croydon  
 in Surrey

A godly  
 suete

The  
Epistle

matter, that in this my booke there maye  
neyther anye thinge be founde whyche  
is untrue, neyther any thinge be lacking,  
whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it shal  
be well done, that you shewe unto him  
the booke it selfe. for yf I have myssed  
or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte  
have escaped me, no man can so well cor-  
recte and amende it, as he can : and yet  
that can he not do, oneles he peruse and  
reade over my booke written. Moreover,  
by this meanes shall you perceave, whe-  
ther he be well wyllinge & content that  
I shoulde undertake to put this woorke  
in writyng. for if he be mynded to pub-  
lyshe and put forth his owne laboures  
and travayles himselfe, perchaunce he  
woulde be lothe, and so woulde I also,  
that in publishyng the Utopiane weale  
publique, I shoulde prevent him, & take  
frome him the flower and grace of the  
noveltie of this his historie.

The  
unkynde  
judge-  
mentes of  
men

**N**OWBEIT, to saye the verye  
treuth, I am not yet fullye deter-  
mined with my selfe, whether I  
will put furth my booke or no. for the  
natures of men be so divers, the phanta-

sies of some so waywarde, their myndes so unkynde, their judgements so corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a jocounde lyfe, folowyng theyr owne sensuall pleasures and carnall lustes, maye seme to be in a muche better state or case, then they that vex and unquiete themselves with cares and studie for the puttinge forth & publishynge of some thyng that maye be either profite or pleasure to others: whiche others nevertheless will disdainfully, scornefully, & unkindly accepte the same. The moost part of al be unlearned. And a greate number hathe learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing but that which is verie barbarous in dede. ¶ If it be one that hath a litle smacke of learnynge, he rejecteth, as homely geare and comen ware, whatsoever is not stuffed full of oldemought, eaten termes, and that be worne out of use. ¶ Some there be that have pleasure onely in olde rustie antiquities: and some onely in their owne doynges. One is so sowre, so crabbed, and so unpleasaunte, that he can awaye with no myrthe



The  
Epistle

nor sporte. ¶ An other is so narrowe betwene the shulders, that he can beare no jestes nor tauntes. ¶ Some seli poore soules be so afearde that at everye snap, pishewoorde their nose shall be bitten of, that they stande in no lesse drede of everye quicke and sharpe woorde, than he that is bitten of a madde dogge feareth water. ¶ Some be so mutable and waveringe, that everye houre they be in a newe mynde, sayinge one thinge syttinge, & an other thyng standinge. ¶ An other sorte sytteth upon their alebencheis, & there amonge their cuppes they geve judgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condempne, even as pleaseth them, everye writer accordynge to his writinge, in moste spitefull maner mockynge, lowtyng, and flowtyng them; beyng themselves in the meane season sauffe, & as sayeth the proverbe, oute of all daunger of gonneshotte. ¶ for why, they be so smugge and smothe, that they have not so much as one hearre of an honest man, wherby one may take holde of them.

**T**HERE be moreover some so un- The  
 kynde & ungentle, that thoughe Epistle  
 they take great pleasure, and de-  
 lectation in the worke, yet for all that,  
 they can not fynde in their hertes to love  
 the author therof, nor to aforde him a  
 good woorde: beyng much like uncour-  
 teous, unthankfull, & chourlish gestic;  
 whiche when they have with good and **A fitte si-**  
 daintie meates well fylled their bellies, **militude**  
 departe home, geving no thanks to the  
 feastemaker. Go your wayes now & make  
 a costlye feaste at youre owne charges,  
 for gestes so dayntie mouthed, so divers  
 in taste, & besides that of so unkynde &  
 unthankfull natures. But nevertheless  
 (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with  
 this loday, as I willed you before, And  
 as for this matter, I shall be at my liber-  
 tie, afterwarde to take newe advise-  
 ment. Howbeit, seeyng I have taken great  
 paynes & laboure in writyng the matter,  
 if it may stande with his mynde & plea-  
 sure, I wyll as touchyng the edition or  
 publishyng of the booke, followe the  
 counsell & advise of my frendes, & spe-  
 ciallye yours.

The  
Epistle

Thus fare you well right hertely beloved  
frende Peter, with your gentle  
wife: & love me as you have  
ever done, for I love you  
better then ever  
I dyd.



**¶ The first booke of the communica-  
tion of Raphael Hythloday, concern-  
yng the best state of a comenwelth.**



**H**E moste victo-  
rious & trium/  
phant Kyng of  
Englande, Hen/  
rye the eyght of  
that name, in al  
roial vertues a  
Prince most pe/  
relesse, hadde  
of late in con-

troversie with Charles, the right highe  
and mightye Kyng of Castell, weighty  
matters & of great importaunce. for  
the debatement & final determination  
wherof, the kinges Majesty sent me  
Ambassadour into flaunders, joyned  
in commission with Cuthbert Tuns/  
tall, a man doutlesse out of compari-  
son, and whom the Kynges Majestie of  
late, to the great rejoyssynge of all men,  
dyd preferre to the office of Maister of  
the Rolles.

**B**UT of this mannes prayses I  
wyll saye nothyng, not bicause  
I doo feare that small credence


The first  
booke of  
Utopia

shalbe geuen to the testimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe: but bicause his vertue & lernyng be greater and of more excellency then that I am able to praise them: and also in all places so famous and so perfectly well knowne, that they neede not, nor oughten not of me to bee praysed, unlesse I woulde seeme to shew and set furth the brightnes of the sonne with a candell, as the proverbe saieth.

**H**ERE mette us at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for that matter appoynted commissioners: excellent men all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Maregrave (as thei call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temsice, provost of Casselses, a man, not only by lernyng, but also by nature, of singulare eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reasonyng, & debatyng of matters, what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exercise, surely he hadde few fel- lowes. After that we had once or twise

mette, & upon certayne poyntes or articles coulde not fully & thoroughly agree, they for a certayne space tooke their leave of us, and departed to Bruxelle, there to know their Princes pleasure.

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

**I**N the meane time (for so my busines laye) wente streighte thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was there abidyng, often tymes amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then anye other, dyd visite me one Peter Giles, a citisen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the hyghest; for it is hard to say, whether the yong man be in learnyng, or in honestye more excellent.  for he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous conditi- ons, and also singularly wel learned, and towards all sortes of people excedyng gentyll: but towards his frendes so kynde herted, so lovyng, so faithfull, so trustye, and of so earnest affection, that it were verye harde in any place to fynde a man that with him in all poyntes of frendshipp maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man

Peter  
Gyles



The first  
booke of  
Utopia

useth lesse simulation or dissimulation in no man is more prudent simplicitie. Besides this, he is in his talke & communication so merye & pleasaunte, yea, & that withoute harme, that throughe his gentyll intertaynemente, and his sweete & delectable communication, in me was greatly abated and diminished the fervente desyre that I had to see my native countrey, my wyfe & my chyl dren, whom then I dyd muche longe & covete to see, because that at that time I had been more then iiii. monethes from them.


**A** DON a certayne daye, when I hadde herde the divine service in our Ladies Church, which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious church of buyldyng in all the citie, and also most frequented of people, and the service beyng doone, was readye to go home to my lodgyng, I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talkyng with a certayne straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his favoure & apparell, furthwith I judged to

bee a mariner. But the sayde Peter seyng me, came unto me, and saluted me. And as I was aboute to answer him: see you this man? sayth he, (and therewith he poynted to the man that I sawe hym talkynge with before) I was mynded, quod he, to brynge him strayghte home to you. He should have ben very welcome to me, sayd I, for your sake. Nay, quod he, for his owne sake, if you knewe him: for there is no man thys day livyng, that can tell you of so many straunge & unknowen peoples and countreyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very desirous to heare of suche newes. Then I conjectured not farre a misse, quod I, for even at the first syght, I judged him to be a mariner. Naye, quod he, there ye were greatly deceyved: he hath sailed in dede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experte and prudent prince Ulysses: yea, rather as the auncient and sage philosopher Plato; for this same Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue, but profounde & excellent in the Greke language; wherin he ever bestow-

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Raphaell  
Hythlo-  
daye

The first  
booke of  
Atopia

ed more studye then in the Latine, by-  
cause he had geuen himselfe wholly to the  
study of philosophy: wherof he knew  
that ther is nothyng extante in Latine,  
that is to any purpose, savyng a fewe of  
Senecaes & Ciceroes dooynges. His pa-  
trimonye that he was borne unto, he lefte  
to his brethern (for he is a Portugall  
borne) & for the desire that he had to see  
and knowe the farre countreyes of the  
worlde, he joyned himselfe in company  
with Amerike Vespuce, & in the iii. last  
voyages of those iiij. that be nowe in  
printe, & abrode in every mannes handes,  
he continued styll in his company, sav-  
yng that in the last voyage he came not  
home agayne with him. for he made suche  
meanes and shift, what by intretaunce,  
& what by importune sute, that he gotte  
licence of mayster Americke (though it  
were sore against his wyll) to be one of  
the xxiiij. whiche in the ende of the last  
voyage were left in the countrey of Gu-  
like.  He was therefore lefte behynde  
for hys mynde sake, as one that tooke  
more thoughte and care for travailyng,  
then dyenge: havynge customably in his

mouth these saynges: He that hathe no grave, is covered with the skye: and, The way to heaven out of all places is of like length and distaunce. Which fantasy of his (if God had not ben his better frende) he had surely bought full deare. But after the departyng of Mayster Vespuce, when he had travailed thorough and aboute many countreyes with v. of his companions, Gulikianes, at the last, by mervelous chaunce he arrived in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys countreye shippes, wherein he returned agayne into his countreye, nothyng lesse then looked for.

The first  
booke of  
Utopia



At this when Peter hadde tolde me, I thanked him for his gentle kindnesse that he had vouchsafed to brynge me to the speache of that man, whose communication he thoughte shoulde be to me pleasaunte and acceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphael. And when wee hadde haylsed eche other: & had spoken these commune woordes that bee cus-



The first  
booke of  
Utopia

tomablye spoken at the first meting and acquaintaunce of straungers, we went thence to my house, and there in my gardaine, upon a bench covered with green torves, we sattedowne talkyng together.

**H**ERE he tolde us, how that after the departyng of Vespuce, he and his fellowes that taried behynde in Gulicke, began by litle & litle, throughe fayre and gentle speache, to wyne the love and favoure of the people of that countreye, insomuche that within shorte space, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmlesse, but also occupiying with them verye familiarly. He tolde us also, that they were in high reputation & favour with a certayne great man (whose name and countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the costes & charges of him and his fyve companions. And besides that, gave theim a trustye guyde to conducte them in their journey (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to brynge theim to other Princes with verye frendlye commendations. ¶ Thus after manye dayes jour-

neys, he sayd, they founde townes, and cities, and weale publiques, full of people, governed by good & holsome lawes. for under the line equinoctiall, and on bothe sydes of the same, as farre as the sonne doth extende his course, lyeth, quod he, great and wyde desertes and wildernesses, parched, burned, & dried up with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lothesome, and unpleasaunt to beholde; all thynges out of fassyon & comelinesse, inhabited withe wylde beastes, and serpentes, or at the leaste wyse, with people that be no lesse savage, wylde, and noysome, then the verye beastes themselves be. ¶ But a litle farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle & lytle to waxe pleasaunte. The ayre softe, temperate, and gentle. The grounde covered with grene grasse. Less wildnesse in the beastes. ¶ At the last shall ye come a gayne to people, cities & townes, wherein is continuall entercourse & occupiying of merchaundise and chaffare, not only among themselves and with their borderers, but also with merchauntes of

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Shippes  
of  
straunge  
fassions

The lode  
stone

farre countreyes, bothe by lande and water. ¶ There I had occasion, sayd he, to go to many countreyes on every syde; for there was no shippe ready to any voyage or journey, but I & my fellowes were into it very gladly receyved. The shippes that thei founde first, weremade playn, flatte, and broade in the botome, trough wise. The sayles were made of great russhes, or of wickers, & in some places of lether. Afterwarde thei founde shippes with ridged kyeles, and sayles of canvasse, yea, and shortly after hav- yng all thynges lyke oures. The shipmen also very experte and cunnynge, bothe in the sea and in the wether. ¶ But he saide that he founde greate favoure and frend- ship amonge them for teachynge them the feate and use of the lode stone, whiche to them before that time was un- knowne. ¶ And therfore they were wonte to be verye timorous and fearfull upon the sea: nor to venter upon it, but only in the somer time. But nowe they have suche a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormy winter: in so doo- yng, farther from care then daunger; in

so muche, that it is greatly to be doubt-  
ed, lest that thyng, throughe their owne  
folish hardinesse, shall tourne them to  
evyll and harme, which at the first was  
supposed shoulde be to them good and  
commodious.

The first  
booke of  
Utopia



AT what he tolde us that he  
sawe in everye countreye  
where he came, it were very  
longe to declare, neither it  
is my purpose at this time  
to make rehersall therof.

But peradventure in an other place I wyll  
speake of it, chiefly suche thynges as  
shall be profitable too bee knowen, as in  
speciall be those decrees & ordinaunces,  
that he marked to be well & wittely pro-  
vided & enacted amonge suche peoples  
as do live together in a civile policie and  
good ordre. For of suche thynges dyd  
wee buselye enquire, and demaunde of  
him, and he likewise very willingly tolde  
us of the same. But as for monsters, by  
cause they be no newes, of them we were  
nothyng inquisitive. For nothyng is  
more easye to bee founde, then bee bark-  
ynge Scyllaes, ravenyng Celenes, and

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Lestrigones, devourers of people, and suche lyke great & incredible monsters. But to fynde citisens ruled by good and holsome lawes, that is an exceding rare and hardethyng. But as he marked many fonde and folisshe lawes in those newe founde landes, so he rehersed divers actes and constitutions, whereby these oure cities, nations, countreis, & kyngdomes may take example to amende their faultes, enormities and errors. Wherof in another place, as I sayde, I will intrete  
Now at this time I am determined to rehearse onely that he tolde us of the manners, customes, lawes and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But first I wyll repete oure former communication by thoccasion, and (as I might saye) the drifte, wherof he was brought into the mention of that weale publique.



OR when Raphael had very prudentlye touched divers thynges that be amisse, some here & some there, yea, very many on bothe partes, & againe had spoken of suche wise lawes and prudente



decrees as be established & used, bothe here amonge us, and also there amonge theym, as a man so perfecte and experte in the lawes & customes of every severall countrey, as though into what place soever he came geastwise, there he had ledde al his life: then Peter muche mervailynge at the man: Surely maister Raphael, quod he, I wondre greatly why you gette you not into some kinges courte; for I am sure, there is no prince livyng, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not only hable highly to delite him with your profounde learnyng, & this your knowlege of countreis and peoples, but also mete to instructe him with examples, & helpe him with counsell. And thus doyng, you shall bryng yourselfe in a verye good case, and also be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kinsfolke.

**A**S concernyng my frendes & kynsfolke, quod he, I passe not greatly for them, for I thinke I have sufficiently doone my parte towards them already. for these thynges, that other men doo not departe from until they be olde and sycke, yea, whiche they be then

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

verye lothe to leave when they canne no longer keepe, those very same thynges dyd I, beyng not only lustye and in good helth, but also in the floure of my youth, diuide among my frendes and kynsfolkes. Which I thynke with this my liberalitie oughte to holde them contented, and not to require nor to loke that besydes this, I shoulde for their sakes geve myselfe in bondage unto kinges. ¶ Nay, God forbyd that, quod Peter, it is notte my mynde that you shoulde be in bondage to kynges, but as a retainour to them at your pleasure; whiche surely I thinke is the nighest waye that you can devise howe to bestowe your time frutefully, not onely for the private commoditie of your frendes and for the generall profite of all sortes of people, but also for thadvancement of your self to a much welthier state and condition then you be nowe in. To a welthier condition, quod Raphael, by that meanes that my mynde standeth cleane agaynst? Now I lyve at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleasure, whiche I thynke very fewe of these great



states and pieres of realmes can saye. The first  
Yea, and there be ynow of them that sue booke of  
for great mens friendshippes : & ther Utopia  
fore thinke it no great hurte, if they have  
not me, nor iii. or iiii. suche other as I  
am.

**W**ELL, I perceiue playnly frende  
Raphael, quod I, that you be  
desirous neither of richesse,  
nor of power. And truly I have in no lesse  
reverence and estimation a man of your  
mynde, then anye of theim all that bee so  
high in power & authoritie. But you shall  
doo as it becometh you : yea, and accord-  
yng to this wisdom, to this high & free  
courage of yours, if you can finde in your  
herte so to appoynt and dispose your  
selfe, that you mai applye your witte and  
diligence to the profite of the weale pub-  
lique, thoughe it be somewhat to youre  
owne payne and hyndraunce. ¶ And this  
shall you never so wel doe, nor wyth so  
greate proffitte perfourme, as yf you be  
of some greate princes counsel, and put  
into his heade (as I doubt not but you  
wyl) honeste opinions, & vertuous per-  
suasions; for from the prince, as from

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

a perpetual wel sprynge, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or evell. ¶ But in you is so perfitte lernynge, that wythoute anye experience, & agayne so greate experience, that wythoute anye lernynge, you maye well be any kinges counsellour. ¶ You be twyse deceived maister More, quod he, fyrste in me, and agayne in the thinge it selfe. ¶ for neither is in me the habilitie that you force upon me, & yf it wer never so much, yet in disquieting myne owne quietnes I should nothing further the weale publique. ¶ for first of all, the moste parte of all princes have more delyte in warlike matters & feates of chivalrie (the knowlege wherof I neither have nor desire) than in the good feates of peace: and employe muche more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel and peaceable to rule & governe that they have alredie. Moreover, they that be counsellours to kinges, everyone of them eyther is of him selfe so wise in dede, that he nedeth not, or elles he thinketh himself so wise, that he wil not allowe an other mans counsel, saving

that they do shamefully and flatteringly geve assent to the fond and folishe say-  
inges of certeyn great men, whose fa-  
vours, bicause they be in high authoritie  
with their prince, by assentation & flat-  
terie they labour to obteyne. And verily  
it is naturally geven to all men to esteme  
their owne inventions best. So both the  
Raven and the Ape thincke their owne  
yonge ones fairest. Than if a man in such  
a company, where some disdayne & have  
despite at other mens inventions, and  
some counte their owne best, if among  
suche menne, I say, a man should bringe  
furth any thinge that he hath redde done  
in tymes paste, or that he hath sene done  
in other places; there the hearers fare as  
though the whole existimation of their  
wisdome were in jeoperdye to be over-  
throwen, and that everafter thei shoulde  
be counted for verye diserdes, unles they  
could in other mens inventions pycke  
out matter to reprehend, & find fault at.

**I**f all other poore helpes fayle,  
then this is their extreame refuge.  
These thinges, say they, pleased  
our forefathers and auncestours: wolde

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Trip-  
takers

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Parcial  
judge-  
mentes

Cardinall  
Morton

God we coulde be so wise as thei were:  
& as though thei had wittely concluded  
the matter & with this answeare stopped  
every mans mouth, thei sitte downe a-  
gaine; as who should sai, It were a very  
daungerous matter, if a man in any  
pointe should be founde wiser then his  
forefathers were. And yet bee we content  
to suffre the best and wittiest of their  
decrees to lye unexecuted: but if in any  
thing a better ordre might have ben ta-  
ken, then by them was, there we take fast  
hold, findyng therin many faultes. ¶  
Manye tymes have I chaunced upon such  
proude, leude, overthwarte, and way-  
warde judgements, yea, & once in Eng-  
land. I prai you Syr, quod I, have you  
ben in our countrey? Yea forsoth, quod  
he, and there I taried for the space of  
iiii. or v. monethes together, not longe  
after the insurrection that the Westerne  
English men made agaynst their kyng,  
which by their owne miserable & pitiful  
slaughter was suppressed & ended. In  
the meane season I was muche bounde  
and beholdynge to the righte reverende  
father, Jhon Morton, Archebishop and

Cardinal of Canterbury, & at that time also lorde Chancelloure of Englande: a man Mayster Peter (for Mayster More knoweth already that I wyll saye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his bodye upright. In his facedid shinesuch an amiable reverence, as was pleasaunte to beholde, gentill in communication, yet earnest and sage. He had great delite manye times with roughe speache to his sewters, to prove, but without harme, what promptewitte, and what bolde spirite were in every man. In the which, as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewith were not joyned impudency, he toke great delectatyon; and the same person, as apte and mete to have an administratyon in the weale publique, he dyd lovingly embrace. In his speche he was fyne, eloquent, and pytthye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellent. These qualities, which in hym were by nature singular, he by learn-




The first  
booke of  
Utopia



ynge and use had made perfecte. The  
kyng put muche truste in his counsel,  
the weale publyque also in a maner leaned  
unto hym, when I was there; for even in  
the chiefe of his youth he was taken from  
schole in to the courte, and there passed  
all his tyme in much trouble and busines,  
beyng continually tumbled & tossed in  
the waves of dyvers mysfortunes and  
adversities. And so by many and grete  
daungers he lerned the experience of the  
worlde, whiche so beinge learned, can not  
easily be forgotten.

**I**T chaunced on a certayne daye,  
when I sate at his table, there was  
also a certayne layman cunnynge  
in the lawes of youre Realme, who, I can  
not tell wherof takynge occasion, began  
diligently and earnestly to prayse that  
strayte & rygorous justice, which at that  
tyme was there executed upon fellones,  
who, as he sayde, were for the moste  
part xx. hanged together upon one gal/  
lowes; and seying so fewe escaped pun/  
yshement, he sayde he coule not chuse  
but greatly wonder and marvel, howe  
and by what evil lucke it shold so come



to passe, that theves nevertheles were  
in every place so ryffe and so rancke   
Naye syr, quod I (for I durst boldely  
speake my minde before the Cardinal),  
marvel nothinge here at ; for this pun-  
yshment of theves passeth the limites  
of justice, and is also very hurtefull to  
the weale publique; for it is to extreame  
and cruel a punishment for thefte, & yet  
not sufficient to refrayne and withhold  
men from thefte,  for simple thefte is  
not so great an offense that it owght to  
be punished with death; neither ther is  
any punishment so horrible, that it can  
kepe them frome stealyng, whiche have  
no other craft wherby to get their living.  
Therefore in this poynte, not you onlye,  
but also the most part of the world, belike  
evyll scholemaisters, which be readyer to  
beate then to teache their scholers. for  
great and horrible punishmentes be ap-  
pointed for theves, wheras much rather  
provision should have ben made, that  
there were some meanes whereby they  
myght get their livyng, so that no man  
shoulde be dryven to this extreme neces-  
sitie, firste to steale, and then to dye 

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Of lawes  
not made  
according  
to equitie

By what  
meanes  
ther might  
be fewer  
theves &  
robbers

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Yes, quod he, this matter is wel ynough provided for already; there be handy craftes, there is husbandrye to gette their livynge by, if they would not willingly be nought.



AY, quod I, you shall not skape so: for first of all, I wyll speake nothyng of them that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not long ago oute of Blacke heath felde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in fraunce: suche, I saye, as put their lives in jeopardye for the weale publiques or the kynges sake, and by reason of weakenesse and lamenesse be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne new: of them I wyll speake nothing, forasmuch as warres have their ordinarie recourse.

Idlenesse  
the mother  
of theves

Landlordes  
by the way  
checked for  
Rent-raising

But let us considre those thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. first there is a great numbred of gentlemen which can not be content to live idle themselves, lyke dorres, of that whiche other have laboured for: their tenauntes I meane, whom they polle and shave to the quicke,

by reising their rentes (for this onely The first  
poynte of frugalitie do they use, men els booke of  
through their lavasse & prodigall spend- Utopia  
yng, hable to brynge theymselves to  
verye beggerye) these gentlemen, I say,  
do not only live in idlenesse themselves, **Of idle**  
but also carrye about with them at their **servyng**  
tailes, a great flocke or traine of idle and **men come**  
loyteryng servyngmen, which never **theves**  
learned any craft wherby to gette their  
livynges ¶ These men as sone as their  
mayster is dead, or be sicke themselves,  
be incontinent thrust out of dores. for  
gentlemen hadde rather keepe idle per-  
sones, then sicke men, and many times  
the deadmans heyre is not hable to main-  
teine so great a house, and kepe so many  
servyng men as his father dyd. Then in  
the meane season they that be thus des-  
titute of service, either starve for honger,  
or manfullye playe the theves; for what  
would you have them to do? When they  
have wandred abrode so longe, untill they  
have worne threde bare their apparell, &  
also appaired their helth, then gentlemen  
because of their pale and sickely faces,  
& patched cotes, will not take them into

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Between  
soldiers  
& thieves  
small di-  
versitie

service. ¶ And husbandmen dare not set them a worke; knowynge wel ynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and faythful service to a poore man wyth a spade and a mattoke for small wages & hard fare, whyche beyng deyntely and tenderly pampered up in ydilnes & pleasure, was wont with a sworde & a buckler by hys syde to jette through the strete with a bragginge loke, & to thynke him selfe to good to be anye mans mate. ¶ Naye by saynt Mary, sir, quod the lawier, not so; for this kinde of men muste we make moste of; for in them as men of stowter stomackes, bolder spirites, and manlyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be, doth consist the whole powre, strength, and puissaunce of oure army, when we must fight in bat-  
taye. ¶ Forsothe sir, as well you myghte saye, quod I, that for warres sake you muste cheryshe thieves, for suerly you shall never lacke thieves whyles you have them. ¶ No nor thieves be not the most false and faynt harted soldiers, nor soul-  
diours be not the cowardleste thieves: so wel thees ii. craftes agree together.



**B**UT this faulte, though it be much used amonge you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen also almoste to all nations. Yet fraunce, besides this, is troubled & infected with a much sorer plage. The whole royalme is fylled and besieged with hiered souldiours in peace tyme, (yf that bee peace,) whyche be brought in under the same colour & pretense that hath perswaded you to kepe these ydell servynge men, for thies wysefooles & verye archdoltes thought the wealthe of the whole coun- trey herein to consist, if there were ever in a redinesse a stronge & a sure garrison, specially of old practised souldiours, for they put no trust at all in men unex- ercised. And therfore they must be for- ced to seke for warre, to the ende thei mai ever have practised souldiers, and cunn- yng mansleiers, lest that (as it is pretely sayde of Salust) their handes and their mindes through idlenes or lacke of exer- cise, shoulde waxe dul. But howe perniti- ous and pestilent a thyng it is to main- tayne suche beastes, the frenche men, by their owne harmes have learned, and

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

What in-  
conveni-  
ences co-  
meth by  
continual  
garisons  
of souldiours

the examples of the Romaines, Carthaginiens, Syriens, & of manye other countreyes doo manifestly declare. ¶ For not onlye the Empire, but also the fieldes & citie of all these, by diuers occasions have been overrunned and destroyed of their owne armies, before hande had in a redinesse. ¶ Now how unnecessary a thinge this is, hereby it maye appeare: that the frenche souldiours, which from their youth have ben practised & inured in feates of armes, do not cracke nor aduance themselves to have very often gotte the upper hand & maistry of your new made and unpractised souldiours. But in this poynte I wyll not use many woordes, leste perchaunce I may seeme to flatter you. No, nor those same handy crafte men of yours in citie, nor yet the rude & uplandish plowmen of the countreye, are not supposed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle seruyngmen, unlesse it be suche as be not of body or stature correspondent to their strength and courage, or els whose bolde stomakes be discouraged throughe povertie. ¶ Thus you may see, that it is not



to be feared lest they should be effeminated if thei were brought up in good craftes and laboursome woorkes, whereby to gette their livynges, whose stoute & sturdye bodies (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupte & spill none but picked and chosen men) nowe either by reason of rest and idlenesse be brought to weakness: or els by to easy and womanly exercises be made feble and unable to endure hardnesse. ¶ Truly howe so ever the case standeth, thys me thinketh is nothing avayleable to the weale publique for warre sake, which you never have but when you wyl your selves, to keepe and mainteyn an innumerable flocke of that sort of men, that be so troublesome and noyous in peace; wherof you ought to have a thowsand times more regarde, then of warre.

**B**UT yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is another, whych, as I suppose, is proper & peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that, quod the Cardinal? forsoth my lorde, quod I, your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

English  
shepe de-  
vourers  
of men

Shepe  
maisters  
decayers  
of hus-  
bandrye

so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great devowerers & sowylde, that they eate up, & swallow downe, the very men them selves. ¶ They consume, destroye, & devoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. for looke, in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest, and therfore dearest woll, there noble men, and gentlemen, yea & certeyn Abbottes, holymen no doubt, not contenting them selves with the yearely revenues and profytes that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beyng content that they live in rest and pleasure, nothinge profiting, yea, much noyinge the weale publique: leave no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw doune houses: they plucke downe townes, & leave nothing standynge, but only the churche to be made a shepehowse. ¶ And as thoughe you loste no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, & parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therfore that on covetous & unsatiabie cormaraunte,

& very plage of his natyve contrey, maye The first  
 compasse aboute & inclose many thou- booke of  
 sand akers of grounde to gether within Utopia  
 one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be  
 thrust owte of their owne, or els either  
 by coveyne and fraude, or by violent op-  
 pression, they be put besydes it, or by  
 wronges and injuries thei be so wried,  
 that they be compelled to sell all: by one  
 meanes therfore or by other, either by  
 hooke or crooke, they muste needes  
 departe awaye, poore, selye, wretched  
 soules, men, women, husbands, wives,  
 fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull  
 mothers, with their yonge babes, & their  
 whole household, smal in substance, &  
 muche in numbre, as husbandrye req-  
 uireth manye handes; awaye thei trudge,  
 I say, out of their knowen and accusto-  
 med houses, fyndyng no place to reste  
 in. All their housholdestuffe, which is  
 very litle woorth; thoughe it myght well  
 abide the sale, yet beeynge sodainely  
 thruste out, they be constrayned to sell  
 it for a thing of nought. And when they  
 have wandered abroad tyll that be spent,  
 what can they then els doo but steale, &

The de-  
 caye of  
 husbandry  
 causeth  
 beggery,  
 which is  
 the mother  
 of vaga-  
 boundes &  
 theves

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

The cause  
of dearth  
of victu-  
ales

What in-  
conveni-  
ence com-  
meth of  
dearth of  
wolle

then justly, pardy, be hanged, or els go  
about a beggyng. And yet then also they  
be caste in prison as vagaboundes, be-  
cause they go aboute & workenot: whom  
no man wyl set a worke, though thei nev-  
er so willyngly profre themselves ther-  
to. ¶ for one shephearde or heardman  
is ynoughe to eate up that grounde with  
cattel, to the occupiying wherof aboute  
husbandrye manye handes were requi-  
site. And this is also the cause why vic-  
tualles be now in many places dearer. ¶  
Yea, besides this, the price of wolle is so  
rysen that poore folkes, which were wont  
to worke it, & make cloth therof, be now  
hable to bye none at all. ¶ And by thys  
meanes verye manye be forced to for-  
sake worke, and to geve them selves to  
idellesse. ¶ for after that so much  
grounde was inclosed for pasture, an in-  
finite multitude of shepe dyed of the  
rotte, suche vengeance God toke of  
their inordinate & unsaciabie covetous-  
nes, sendinge amonge the shepe that  
pestiferous morrein, whiche much more  
justely shoulde have fallen on the shepe-  
masters owne heades. And though the



number of shepe increase never so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. for they be almooste all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they lust, and they luste not before they maye sell as deare as they luste. ¶ Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea, and that so much the more, bicause that after fermes plucked downe, and husbandry decaied, there is no man that passethe for the breadynge of younge stoore. for these riche men brynge not up the yonge ones of greate cattel as they do lambes. ¶ But first they bie them abroad verie chepe, and afterward when they be fattened in their pastures, they sell them agayne excedynge deare. And therefore, as I suppose, the whole incommo- ditie hereof is not yet felte; for yet they make dearth onely in those places, where they sell. ¶ But when they shall fetch them away from thence wheare they be bredde faster than they can be broughte up, then shall there also be felte greate dearth, stoore beginning there to faile, where the ware is boughte.

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

The cause  
of dearth  
of wol

Dearth of  
cattel with  
the cause  
therof

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Dearth of  
victuales  
is the de-  
cay of  
house kep-  
ing; wher-  
of ensueth  
beggery &  
thefte

Excesse in  
apparell &  
diet main-  
teiner of  
beggery &  
thefte

Baudes,  
whores,  
winetavernes, alehouses, & unlawfull games be very  
mothers of theves.

**T**HUS the unreasonable covet-  
ousnes of a few, hath turned that  
thing to the utter undoing of  
your ylande, in the whiche thyng the  
cheife felicitie of your realme did consist  
for this greate dearth of victualles  
causeth men to kepe as litle houses, and  
as smale hospitalitie as they possible  
maye, and to put away their servauntes:  
whether, I pray you, but a beggyng? Or  
elles (whyche these gentell bloudes and  
stoute stomackes wyll sooner set their  
myndes unto) a stealing? Nowe to a-  
mende the matter, to this wretched beg-  
gerye and miserable povertie, is joyned  
greate wantonnes, importunate super-  
fluitie, & excessive riote for not only  
gentle mennes servauntes, but also han-  
dicrafemen: yea & almooste the plough-  
men of the countrey, with al other sortes  
of people, use muche straunge & proude  
newefanglenes in their apparell, and to  
muche prodigall riotte and sumptuous  
fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines,  
whoores, harlottes, strumpettes, bro-




thelhouses, stewes, and yet an other  
 stewes, wynetavernes, ale houses, & tip-  
 linge houses, with so manye noughtie,  
 lewde, and unlawfull games, as dyce,  
 cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes; do  
 not all these sende the haunTERS of them  
 streyghte a stealyng, when theyr mon-  
 ey is gone? Caste oute these pernicious  
 abhominations, make a lawe that they  
 which plucked downe fermes, & townes  
 of husbandrie, shal reedifie them, or els  
 yelde and uprender the possession ther-  
 of to suche as wil go to the cost of buyld-  
 ing them anewe. ¶ Suffer not these riche  
 men to bie up al, to ingrosse, and for-  
 stalle, and with their monopolie to kepe  
 the market alone as please them. Let not  
 so many be brought up in idelnes, let  
 husbandry and tillage be restored, let  
 clotheworkinge be renewed, that ther  
 may be honest labours for this idell sort  
 to passe their tyme in profitablye, whiche  
 hitherto either povertie hath caused to  
 be theves, or elles nowe be either vaga-  
 bondes, or idel serving men, and shorter-  
 lye wil be theves.


The first  
 booke of  
 Utopia

Rich men  
 ingross-  
 ers & fore-  
 stallers

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

The cor-  
rupte edu-  
cation of  
youth a  
mother of  
thevery

**D**OUTLES onles you finde a  
remedy for these enormities,  
you shall in vaine aduance your  
selves of executiſg justice upon fellows;  
for this justice is more beautiful in ap-  
peraunce, and more flourishyng to the  
shewe, then either iuste or profitable,  for by suffring your youthe wantonlie  
and viciously to be brought up, and to be  
infected, even from theyr tender age, by  
litle & litle with vice: then a goddes name  
to be punished, when they commit the  
same faultes after being come to mans  
state, which from their youthe they were  
ever like to do: In this pointe, I praye  
you, what other thing do you, then make  
theves, and then punish them?

**N**Ow as I was thus speakiſg, the  
lawier began to make hym selfe  
readie to answer, and was deter-  
mined with him selfe to use the common  
fashion and trade of disputers, whiche  
be more diligent in rehersiſg then an-  
sweriſg, as thinkiſg the memorie wor-  
thy of the chief praise  In dede sir,  
quod he, you have said wel, being but a  
straunger, and one that myghte rather

heare some thing of these matters, then  
 have any exacte or perfect knowledge of  
 the same, as I wil incontinent by open  
 proffe make manifest and plaine. ¶ For  
 firste I will reherse in order all that you  
 have sayde: then I wyll declare wherein  
 you be deceaved through lacke of know-  
 ledge, in all oure fashions, maners, and  
 customes: and last of all I will aunswere  
 youre argumentes, & confute them every  
 one. ¶ firste therefore I wyll begynne  
 where I promysed. foure thynges you  
 semed to me. Holde youre peace, quod the  
 Cardinall: for it appeareth that you will  
 make no shorte aunswere, which make  
 suche a beginnyng. ¶ Wherefore at  
 this time you shall not take the paynes  
 to make your aunswere, but keep it to  
 youre next meetyng, whiche I woulde be  
 righte glad that it might be even to mor-  
 rowe next, onles either you or mayster  
 Raphael have any earnest let. ¶ But nowe  
 mayster Raphael, I woulde verye gladlye  
 heare of you, why you thinke thefte not  
 worthye to be punished with deathe, or  
 what other punishement you can devise  
 more expedient to the weale publique; for

The first  
 booke of  
 Utopia

He is wor-  
 thelie put  
 to silence  
 that is to  
 full of  
 wordes

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

I am sure you are not of that minde, that you woulde have thefte escape unpunished. for yf now the extreme punishment of death can not cause them to leaue stealinge, then yf ruffians & robbers shoulde be suer of their lyues; what violence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbing, whiche would take the mitigation of the punishment, as a verye provocation to the mischief?

That  
thefte  
ought  
not to be  
punished  
by death

**S**UERLYE mylorde, quod I, I thinke it not tryght nor justice, that the losse of money should cause the losse of mans life. for myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not hable to countervayle mans life. But if they would thus saye: that the breakynge of justice, and the transgression of the lawes is recompensed with this punishment, & not the losse of the money, then why maye not this extreme and rigorous justice wel be called plaine injurie? for so cruel governance, so streite rules, and unmerciful lawes be not allowable, that if a small offense be committed, by & by the sword should be drawen: Nor so stoical ordinances are to be borne withall, as to

Straite  
lawes not  
allowable

counte a offenses of suche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the takynge of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offense then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we have anye respecte to equitie, no similitude or equalitie consisteth. God commaundeth us that we shall not kill; and be we then so hastie to kill a man for takinge a litle money? ¶ And if any man would understande killing by this commaundement of God, to be forbidden after no larger wise then mans constitutions define killynge to be lawfull, then why maye it not lykewyse by mans constitutions be determined after what sort whordome, fornication, and perjuri may be lawfull? ¶ For whereas by the permission of God no man hath power to kil neither himself, nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe made by the consent of men, concerninge slaughter of men oughte to be of suche strengthe, force, and vertue, that they which contrarie to the commaundement of God have killed those, whom this constitution of man commaunded to be killed, be cleane quite &

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

That  
mans law  
ought not  
to be pre-  
judicial  
to gods  
law



The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Thefte in  
the olde  
lawe not  
punished  
by death

What  
inconuen-  
ience en-  
sueth of  
punish-  
ynge theft  
with death

exempte oute of the bondes & daunger  
of Gods commaundement: shall it not  
then by this reason folow, that the pow-  
er of Gods commaundemente shall ex-  
tende no further then mans lawe doeth  
define & permitte? And so shall it come  
to passe, that in like maner mans consti-  
tutions in al thinges shal determine how  
farre the observation of all Gods com-  
maundementes shall extend. ¶ To be  
shorte Moyses law, though it were un-  
gentle & sharpe, as a law that was geuen  
to bondmen, yea, & them very obstinate,  
stubborne, & styfnecked, yet it punished  
thefte by the purse, and not wyth death.  
And let us not thinke that God in the  
newe law of clemencie and mercye, under  
the whiche he ruleth us with fatherlie gen-  
tlenes, as his deare children, hath geuen  
us greater scoupe & licence to the execu-  
tion of cruelte, one upon another. Now ye  
have heard the reasons whereby I am  
persuaded that this punishment is un-  
lawful. ¶ furthermore I thinke ther is no  
body that knoweth not, how unreason-  
able, yea, howe pernicious a thinge it is to  
the weale publike, that a thefe and an



homicide or murderer, should suffer equall & like punishment. for the thefe seyng that man is condempned for thefte in no lesse jeoperdie, nor judged to no lesse punishment, then him that is convicte of manslaughter: throughe this cogitation onelye he is strongly and forcibly provoked, and in a maner constrained to kill him whome els he woulde have but robbed. for the murder beyng ones done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hoope that the deede shall not be bewrayed or knowen, seyng the partye is now deade, & rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte have uttered & disclosed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and discribed: yet he is in no more daunger and jeopardie, then if he had committed but single felonye. ¶ Therefore whiles we go about with suche crueltie to make theves aferd, we provoke them to kil good men.

**N**OW as touchinge this question, what punishmente were more commodious & better: that true lye in my judgemente is easier to be founde, then what punishment might

The first booke of Utopia

Punishing of theft by deathe causeth the thefe to be a murtherer

What lawfull punishment may be devised for theft

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Howe the  
Romainys  
punished  
thefte

A worthy  
and com-  
mendable  
punish-  
ment of  
theves in  
the weale  
publique  
of the Po-  
lylerites  
in Persia

be wurse. for why should we doubt that to be a good & a profytable waye for the punishement of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes paste so longe please the Romaines, men in the administration of a weale publique mooste experte, politique, and cunnynge? Suche as amonge them were convicte of great and heynous trespases, them they condempned into stone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation sowel as that which I sawe, whiles I travailed abroad aboute the worlde, used in Persia amonge the people that commonly be called the Polylerites. Whose land is both large and ample, & also well and wittelye governed: and the people in all conditions free & ruled by their owne lawes, savinge that they paye a yeaerlye tribute to the great kinge of Persia. But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed & inclosed almoste rounde aboute with hyghe mountaines, & do content themselves with the fruities of their owne lande, whiche is of it selfe

verye fertile and frutfull: for this cause neither they go to other countreys, nor other come to them. And accordynge to the olde custome of the land, they desire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: & those that they have, by reason of the highe hilles be easely defended: and the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge, setteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather than gallante, & may better be called happie, or welthy, then notable or famous: for they be not known as much as by name, I suppose, saving only to theyr next neighbours & borderes.

**T**HEY that in this lande be attainted and convict of felony, make restitution of that which they stole, to the righte owner: and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to have no more righte to the thievestolen thinge, then the thiefe himselfe hathe. But if the thing be loste or made away, then the value of it is paid of the gooddes of such offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wives &

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

A privie  
nippe for  
them that  
do other-  
wise

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Theves  
condemp-  
ned to be  
commen  
labourers

children. And they them selves be con-  
dempned to be common laborers, & one-  
les the thefte be verie heinous, they be  
neyther locked in prison, nor fettered in  
gives, but be untied & go at large, labor-  
ing in the common workes. ¶ They that  
refuse labour, or go slowly & slacklye to  
their worke, be not onelye tied in cheynes,  
but also pricked forward with stripes.  
But beinge diligente aboute theyr worke  
they live without checke or rebuke. Every  
night they be called in by name: and be  
locked in theyr chambers. Beside their  
dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or  
incommodious. Their fare is indifferent  
good, borne at the charges of the weale  
publike, bicause they be commen ser-  
vauntes to the commen wealth. But their  
charges in all places of the lande is not  
borne alike. ¶ for in some partes, that  
which is bestowed upon them is gathered  
of almes. And thoughe that waye be un-  
certein, yet the people be so ful of mercy  
and pitie, that none is found more profi-  
table or plentifull. In some places certein  
landes be appointed hereunto: of the  
renewes wherof they be mainteined. ¶



And in some places everye man geveth a certein tribute for the same use and purpose. ¶ Againe in some partes of the land these serving men (for so be these dampned persons called) do no common worke, but as everye private man nedeth laborours, so he commeth into the markette place, and there hierethe some of them for meate and drinke, & a certeine limitted waiges by the daye, sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man. It is also lawefull for them to chastice the slouth of these servinge men with stripes. By this meanes they never lacke worke, and besides the gayninge of their meate and drinke, everye one of them bringeth dailie some thing into the common treasourie. ¶ All and every one of them be apparailled in one coloure. Their heades be not polled or shaven, but rounded a lytle above the eares. And the type of the one eare is cut of. ¶ Every one of them maye take meate and drinke of their frendes, and also a coate of their owne colloure: but to receive money is deathe, as well to the gever, as to the receivoure, and no lesse jeoperdie it is for a

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Serving  
men



The first  
booke of  
Utopia




An evell  
intent es-  
temed as  
the dede

The right  
end and  
intent of  
punishe-  
ment

free man to receive moneye of a servynge manne for anye maner of cause: & lyke- wise for servingemen to touche weapons

¶ The servinge men of everye severall shire be distincte & knowen frome other by their severall and distincte badges: whiche to caste awaye is death: as it is also to besene oute of the precincte of their owne shire, or to talke with a servingeman of another shyre. ¶ And it is no lesse daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in dede. Yea & to conceale suche an enterpries, in a servingeman it is deathe, in a free man servitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth & uttereth suche counsellles, be decreed large giftes: to a free man a great some of money, to a serving man freedome: and to them bothe forgevenes & pardone of that they were of counsell in that pretence; so that it can never be so good for them to go forewarde in their evyll purpose, as by repentaunce to tourne backe.

**T**HIS is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I have shewed you. ¶ Wherein, what humanitie is used, howe farre it is frome crueltie, and howe

commodity it is, you do playnely perceive: for asmuche as the ende of their wrath & punyshement intendeth nothinge elles, but the destruction of vices, and savyng of menne: with so usynge, & ordering them, that they can not chuse but be good, & what harme so ever they did before, in the residewe of theyr life to make a mende for the same.  Moreover it is so litle feared, that they shoulde tourne againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyll for their safeguarde chuse them to theyr guydes before any other, in every sheire chaunging and taking new. for if they would committe robbery, they have nothinge aboute them meate for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money founde aboute them shoulde betraie the robbery.  They shoulde be no sooner taken with the maner, but furthwith they shoulde be punished. Neither they can have any hope at all to skape awaye by flienge. for howe should a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, flye prevelie and unknowne, oneles he woulde runne awaye naked?  Howebeit so also flyinge he

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

should be discribed by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare marke ¶ But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they will laye theyr heddes together, and conspire againste the weale publique ¶ No no I warrante you. for the servyng men of one sheire alone, coulde never hoope to bringe to passe suche an enterpryse, without sollicitinge, entysinge, & allurynge the servinge men of manye other shieres to take their partes ¶ Whiche thinge is to them so impossible, that they maye not as much as speake or talke togethers, or salute one an other ¶ No, it is not to be thoughte that they woulde make theyr owne countrey men and companions of their counsell in suche a matter, whiche they knowe well should be jeopardie to the concealour therof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener & detectour of the same. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in dispaire to recover againe his former estate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente suffringe, and by geving good tokens and likelyhoode of himselfe, that he wyll ever after that, lyve

like a trewe & an honest man; for everye  
yeare divers of them be restored to their  
freedome throughe the commendation  
of their patience.

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

**W**HAN I had thus spoken, say-  
inge moreover that I coulde see  
no cause why this ordre might  
not be had in Englande, with muchemore  
profyte then the justice whiche the law-  
yer so heighly praysed: Naye, quod the  
lawier, this coulde never be so stablysh-  
ed in Englande, but that it must nedes  
bringe the weale publike into great jeo-  
perdie and hasarde. And as he was thus  
sayinge, he shaked his heade, and made  
a wrie mouthe, and so he helde his peace.  
And all that were there present, with one  
assent agreed to his sayinge. ¶ Well,  
quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to  
judge withoute a proffe, whether this  
order would do wel here or no. But when  
thesentence of death is geven, if than the  
kinge shoulde commaunde execution to  
be defferred and spared, & would prove  
this order and fassion: takinge awaye  
the priviliges of all saintuaries: if then  
the profe shoulde declare the thinge to

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Vaga-  
bondes

The waver-  
ing judge-  
mentes of  
flatterers

be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were stablished: els the condemned & reprived persons may as wel and as justly be put to death after this profe, as when they were first cast. Neither any jeoparddie can in the meane space growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that these vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so many lawes, and so litle prevailed. ¶ When the Cardinall had thus saide, than every man gave greate praise to my sayinges, whiche a litle before they had disallowed. But moost of al was esteemed that which was spoken of vagaboundes, bicause it was the Cardinales owne addition.



CAN not tell whether it were best to rehearse the communication that folowed, for it was not very sad. But yet you shall heare it, for there was no evil in it, and partlye it pertained to the matter before saide. There chaunced to stand by a certein jesting parasite, or scoffer, which wold seme to resemble and counterfeit the foole. But he did in such wise counterfeit, that he



was almost the very same in dede that he labored to represent: he so studied with wordes & sayinges brought furth so out of time and place, to make sporte and move laughter, that he himselfe was oftener laughed at then his jestes were. Yet the foolishe fellowe brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stuffe, that he made the proverbe true, which saieth: He that shoteth oft, at the last shal hit the mark. So that when one of the company sayd, that throughe my communication a good order was founde for theves, and that the Cardinal also had wel provided for vagaboundes, so that only remained some good provision to be made for them that through sicknes and age were fallen into povertie, and were become so impotent and unweldie, that they were not hable to worke for their livinge: Tushe, quod he, let me alone with them: you shall se me do well ynough with them. for I had rather then any good, that this kinde of people were driven sumwher oute of my sight, they have so sore troubled me manye times and ofte, when they have wyth their la





The first booke of Utopia

Sick, aged, impotent persons & beggers

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

A commen  
proverbe  
amonge  
beggars

A mery  
talke be-  
twene a  
frere and a  
foole

mentable teares begged money of me: & yet they coulde never to my mynde so tune their songe, that thereby they ever got of me one farthinge.  forever more the one of these two chaunced: either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicause I had it not. Therfore now they be waxed wise. for when they see me go by, bicause they will not leese theyr labour, they let me passe and saye not one worde to me. So they loke for nothinge of me, no in good sothe, no more then yf I were a priest or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all these beggars shall be distributed, & bestowed into houses of religion.  The men shalbe made laye brethren, as they call them, & the women nunnes.  Hereat the Cardinal smiled, & allowed it in jest, yea & all the residue in good earnest. But a certeine freare, graduate in divinitie, toke suche pleasure & delite in this jeste of priestes & monkes, that he also beyngelikes a man of grislie and sterne gravitie, began merilie and wantonlye to jeste and taunt.  Naye, quod he, you shall not so be ridde and dispatched of beggars, oneles you make

some provision also for us frears. Why, quod the jester, that is done already, for my lord him selfe set a verye good order for you, when he decreed that vagaboundes should be kept straite, & set to worke: for you be the greatest & veriest vagaboundes that be. ¶ This jest also, when they sawe the Cardinall not disprove it, every man toke it gladly, saving onelye the frear. for he (and that no marveile) beyng thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, so fret, so fumed, & chafed at it, & was in such a rage, that he could not refrain himselfe from chidinge, skolding, railing, and reviling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, javel, back-biter, sclaunderer, and the childe of perdition: citing therwith terrible threateninges out of holie scripture. ¶ Then the jestynge scoffer beganne to playe the scoffer in dede, & verely he was good at that, for he could play a part in that play, no man better. Patient youre selfe good maister freare, quod he, & be not angrie, for scripture saith: in youre patience you shall save your soules. ¶ Then the freare (for I will rehearse his own very woordes)

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Talke qual-  
ified ac-  
cording to  
the person  
that speak-  
eth

No gallous wretche, I am not angrie,  
quod he, or at the leaste wise, I do not  
sinne: for the psalmiste saith, be you  
angrie, and sinne not. ¶ Then the Cardi-  
nal spake gently to the freare, & desired  
him to quiete himselfe. No my lord, quod  
he, I speak not but of a good zeale as I  
oughte: for holye men had a good zeale.  
¶ Wherefore it is sayd: the zeale of thy  
house hath eaten me. And it is songe in  
the church, The skorners of Helizeus,  
whiles he went up into the house of God,  
felte the zeale of the bald; as peradven-  
ture this skorning villaine ribaulde shall  
feelee. ¶ You do it, quod the Cardinall,  
perchaunce of a good mynde and affec-  
tion: but me thinketh you should do, I  
can not tell whether more holilie, certes  
more wisely, yf you would not set youre  
witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole  
take in hande a foolishe contention. ¶  
No forsoeth my lorde, quod he, I shoulde  
not do more wyselye. for Salomon the  
wyse saieth: Answer a foole accordinge  
to his folye, like as I do nowe, & do shew  
him the pit that he shall fall into, yf he  
take not hede. for if many skorners of

Helizeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how much more shall one skorne of many frears feele, amonge whom be manye balde men? And we have also the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and skorne us be excommunicate, suspended, & acursed

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

¶ The cardinal, seing that none ende would be made, sent awaie the jester by a prevy becke, and turned the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to heare his sueters, & so dismissed us.



OOKE maister More wyth how longe & tedious a tale I have kept you, whiche surely I woulde have bene ashamed to have done, but that you so earnestly desired me, & did after such a sorte geve eare unto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication should be left out. Whiche, thoughe I have done somewhat briefly, yet could I not chuse but rehearse it, for the judgement of them, whiche when they had improved and disallowed my sayinges, yet incontinent



The first  
booke of  
Utopia

hearynge the Cardinall allowe them, dyd themselves also approve the same: so impudently flattering him, that they wer nothing ashamed to admitte, yea almoste in good earnest, his jesters folish inventions: bicause that he him selfe by smiling at them did semen not to disprove them. So that herby you may right wel perceave how litle the courtiers woulde regarde and esteme me & my sayinges.



ENSURE you maister Raphael, quod I, I toke greate delectacion in hearing you; all thinges that you saide were spoken so wittilye and so pleasauntly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrei, but also through the pleasaunt remembraunce of the Cardinal, in whose house I was broughte up of a childe, to waxe a child againe. And frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate love towardes you before, yet seyng you do so earnestlye favoure this man, you wyll not beleve howe muche my love towardes you is now increased. But yet, all this notwith

standinge, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I must nedes beleve, that you, if you be disposed, and can fynde in youre hearte to followe some princes courte, shall with your good counselles greatlye helpe & further the commen wealth. Wherefore there is no-thingemoreapperteining to youre dewty, that is to saye, to the dewtie of a good man. for where as your Plato judgeth that weale publiques shall by this meanes atteyne perfect felicitie, eyther if philosophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges geve themselves to the studie of philosophie, how farre I praye you, shall commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf philosophers wyll vouchesaufe to enstruct kynges with their good counsell?

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

**T**HEY be not so unkinde, quod he, but they woulde gladlye do it, yea, manye have done it alreadye in bookes that they have put furthe, if kynges and princes would be willynge and readye to folowe good counsell. But Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresee, onelesse kynges themselves woulde applye

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

their mindes to the studye of philosophie, that elles they woulde never thoroughlye allowe the counsell of philosophers, beyng themselves before even from their tender age, infected and corrupt with perverse and evill opinions. Whiche thyng Plato hymselfe proved trewe in kinge Dionyse. If I shoulde propose to any kyng wholsome decrees, doyng my endevoure to plucke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall causes of vice and noughtines, thinke you not that I shoulde furthewith either be driven awaye, or elles made a laughyng stocke? Well, suppose I were with the frenche kynge, & there syttinge in his counsell, whiles in that mooste secrete consultation, the kynge him selfe there beyng presente in hys owne personne, they beate their braynes, and serche the verye botomes of their wittes, to discusse by what crafte and meanes the kynge maye styl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitive Naples, and then howe to conquere the Venetians, and howe to bringe under his jurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of flaunders,

The  
frenche-  
men privi-  
lie becoun-  
seled from  
the desire  
of Italie

Brabant, and of all Burgundie; with di-  
vers other landes, whose kingdomes he  
hath longe ago in mind and purpose in-  
vaded. Here, whiles one counselleth to  
conclude a legue of peace with the Ve-  
netians, so longe to endure as shall be  
thought mete & expedient for their pur-  
pose, & to make them also of their coun-  
sell, yea, and besides that to geve them  
part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when  
they have brought theyr purpose about  
after their owne myndes, they maye re-  
quire & clayme againe. Another thinketh  
best to hie the Germanes. Another  
woulde have the favoure of the Swychers  
wonne with money. Another advyse is  
to appease the puissaunte power of the  
Emperours majestie wyth golde, as with  
a moste pleasaunte, and acceptable sa-  
crifice. Whiles another gyveth counsell  
to make peace wyth the kynge of Arra-  
gone, and to restore unto him hys owne  
kyngedome of Navarra, as a full assur-  
aunce of peace. Another commeth in with  
his five egges, and adviseth to hooke in  
the kynge of Castell with some hope of  
affinitie or allyaunce, & to bringe to their

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Launce  
knightes

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

parte certeine piere of his courte for greate pensions. Whiles they all staye at the chieffeste doubt of all, what to do in the meane time with Englande; and yet agree all in this, to make peace with the Englishmen, and with mooste suer and stronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes, & hadde in suspicion as enemyes. And that therfore the Skottes muste be hadde in a readines, as it were in a standynge, readie at all occasions, in aounters the Englishmen shoulde sturre never so lytle, incontinent to set upon them. And moreover previlie & secretlye (for openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) privelye therefore I saye, to make muche of some piere of Englande, that is bannished hys countrey, whiche muste cleime title to the crowne of the realme, & affirme hym selfe juste inherytoure thereof, that by this subtill meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they have but small truste and affiaunce.




**N**ERE I saye, where so great and The first  
heyghe matters be in consulta- booke of  
tion, where so manye noble and Utopia  
wyse menne counsell theyr kynge onelie  
to warre, here, yf I selie man shoulde rise  
vp and will them to tourne over the leafe,  
& learne a newe lesson, sayinge that my  
counsell is not to medle with Italy, but  
to tarye styll at home, & that the kynge-  
dome of fraunce alone is almooste great-  
er then that it maye well be governed of  
one man: so that the kynge shoulde not  
nede to studye howe to gette more; and  
then shoulde propose unto them the de-  
crees of the people that be called the  
Achoriens, whiche be situate over a-  
gaynste the Ilande of Utopia on the  
southeaste side. These Achoriens ones  
made warre in their kinges quarrell for to  
gette him another kingdome, whiche he  
laide claime unto, and avaunced hymselfe  
ryghte inheritoure to the crowne thereof,  
by the tytle of an olde aliaunce. At the  
last when they had gotten it, and sawe  
that they hadde even as muche vexation  
and trouble in kepynge it, as they had in  
gettynge it, and that either their newe

A notable  
example,  
and wor-  
thy to be  
folowed

conquered subjectes by sundrye occasions were makynge daylye insurrections to rebell againste them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with diuers inrodes and forragynge inuadyng them; so that they were ever fighting either for them, or agaynste them, and never coulde breake up theyr camps. Seynge them selves in the meane season pyllled & impoverished: their money carried out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorie of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothyng better then warre, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselves to corrupte and wicked manners, that they had taken a delite & pleasure in robbing & stealing: that through manslaughter they had gathered boldnes to mischiefe: that their lawes were had in contempte, and nothing set by or regarded: that their king beyng troubled with the charge and governaunce of two kingdomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to discharge his office towardes them both: seing againe that all these evelles & troubles were endles:

at the laste layde their heades together, and like faithfull and lovinge subjectes gave to their kynge free choise & libertie to kepe styll the one of these two kingdomes, whether he would: alleginge that he was not hable to kepe both, and that they weremothen might well be governed of halfe a king: forasmuche as no man woulde be content to take him for his mulettour, that kepeth an other mans moyles besydes his. So this good prince was constreyned to be content with his olde kyngedome, & to geve over the newe to one of his frendes, who shortelye after was violentlie driven out. *¶* further, more if I shoulde declare unto them, that all this busie preparaunce to warre, whereby so many nations for his sake should be broughte into a troublesome hurleiburley, when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted, and his people destroyed, should at the length through some mischance be in vaine and to none effect: and that therfore it were best for him to content him selfe with his owne kingedome of fraunce, as his forfathers and predecessours did before him: to

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

make much of it, to enrich it, & to make it  
as flourishing as he could, to endeavour  
him selfe to love his subjectes, & againe  
to be beloved of them, willingly to live  
with them, peaceably to governe them,  
and with other kyngdomes not to meddle,  
seinge that whiche he hath all ready is  
even ynoughe for him, yea and more then  
he can well turne hym to: this myne advyse  
maister More, how thinke you it would  
be harde and taken?  So God helpe me,  
not very thankfully, quod I.

**W**EL let us procede then, quod  
he. Suppose that some kyng  
and his counsel were together  
whettinge their wittes & devisinge what  
subtell crafte they myght invente to en-  
ryche the kinge with greate treasures of  
money. first one counselleth to rayse &  
enhaunce the valuation of money when  
the kinge must paye anye: and agayne to  
calle downe the value of coyne to lesse  
then it is worthe, when he muste receive  
or gather any. for thus great sommes  
shalbe payde wyth a lytyl money, and  
where lytle is due muche shalbe receaved.  
Another counselleth to fayne warre, that

Enhaun-  
cynge and  
imbasyng  
of coynes

Counter-  
fayte  
warres

when under this coloure and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundaunce of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solempnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe upon mans bloude, lyke a loving & a mercifull prince.

The first booke of Utopia

An other putteth the kyng in remembrance of certeine olde & moughteaten lawes, that of longe tyme have not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that they were made, everie man hath transgressed. The fynes of these lawes he counselleth the kyng to require: for there is no waye so profitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a shewe and coloure of justice. An other advyseth him to forbidde manye thinges under greate penalties and fines, specially suche thinges as is for the peoples profit not be used, and afterwarde to dispence for money with them whyche by this prohibition substeine losse and dammage. for by this meanes the favour of the people is wonne, and profiteriseth two wayes. first by takinge forfaytes of

The renewing of olde lawes

Re-strayntes



The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Sellying  
of licences

them whome covetousnes of gaynes hath brought in daunger of this statute, and also by sellinge privileges and licences, whyche the better that the prince is forsothe, the deerer he selleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any private persone, anye thinge that is againste the proffite of his people. And therefore maye sel none but at an exceding dere pryce. Another giveth the kynge counsel to endaunger unto his grace the judges of the realme, that he maye have them ever on his side, and that they maye in everyematter despute and reason for the kynges right. Yea & further to call them into his palace and to require them there to argue and discusse his matters in his owne presence. So there shalbeno matter of his so openlye wronge and unjuste, wherein one or other of them, either because he wyl have sumthinge to allege & objecte, or that he is ashamed to saye that whiche is sayde alreadye, or els to pike a thanke with his prince, will not fynde some hole open to set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in a trippe. Thus whiles the judges cannot agree a-

monges them selves, reasoninge and  
arguing of that which is playne enough,  
and bringinge the manifest trewthe in  
dowte; in the meane season the kinge  
maye take a fyt occasion to understand  
the lawe as shal moste make for his ad-  
vantage, whereunto al other, for shame  
or for feare, wil agree. Then the judges  
may be bolde to pronounce on the kynges  
side. for he that geveth sentence for the  
king, cannot be without a good excuse.  
for it shalbe sufficient for him to have  
equitie on his part, or the bare wordes of  
the lawe, or a wrythen & wrested under-  
standinge of the same, or els, whiche  
with good and just judges is of greater  
force then all lawes be, the kynges indis-  
putable prerogative. To conclude, al the  
counsellours agre and consent together  
with the ryche Crassus, that no abund-  
ance of gold can be sufficient for a prince,  
which muste kepe & maynteyne an armie:  
furthermore, that a kynge, though he  
would, can do nothinge unjustlye. for  
all that all men have, yea also the men  
them selves, be all his; and that every  
man hath so much of his owne, as the

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

The sayyng  
of riche  
Crassus

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it shalbe moste for the kinges advantage, that his subjectes have very lytle or nothinge in their possession, as whose savegarde dothe herein consiste, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, because where these thinges be, there men benot wont patiently to obeye harde, unjuste, and unlawefull commaundementes. Where as on the other part, neade & povertie doth holde downe and kepe under stowte courages, & maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebellynge stomakes. Hereagayne if I shoulde ryse up, & bolde-lye affirme that all these counselles be to the kinge dishonoure & reproche, whose honoure and safetie is more and rather supported and upholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treasures: and if I should declare that the comminaltie chueseth their king for their owne sake, and not for his sake: to the intent, that through his labour and studie they might al live wealthily, sauffe from wronges and injuries: and

that therfore the kyng ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his ownewealthe, even as the office & dewtie of a shephearde is, in that he is a shepherde, to feede his sheperather than himselfe.

The first booke of Utopia.

**F**OR as towching this, that they thinke the defence and mayntenance of peace to consist in the povertie of the people, the thing it selfe sheweth that they be farre out of the waye. for where shal a man finde more wrangling, quarelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more desierous of newe mutations & alterations, then they that be not content with the present state of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder stomaked to bringe all in a hurleburlye (therby trustinge to get some windfall) then they that have nowe nothinge to leese?

**A**ND yf any kyng were so smally regarded, and so lightly esteemed, yea so behated of his subjectes, that other wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by pollinge and shavinge, and by bringinge

Povertie  
the mother  
of debate  
& decal of  
realmes

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

A worthy  
saing of  
fabrice

them to beggerie, sewerly it were better for him to forsake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby, though the name of a king be kepte, yet the majestie is lost. for it is againste the dignitie of a kynge to have rule over beggers, but rather over ryche and welthie men. ¶ Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius fabrice, when he sayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himselfe. And verelye, one man to live in pleasure and wealth whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a jayler. ¶ To be shorte, as he is a folyshe phisition that cannot cure his patientes disease onles he caste him in an other syckenes, so he that cannot amend the lives of his subjectes, but by taking from them the wealth & commoditie of lyfe, he muste nedes graunte that he knoweth not the feate how to governe men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce unhonest pleasures, and forsake pride. for these be the chiefe vices that cause hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne,



hurtinge no man. Let him doe cost not above his power. Let him restreynewyckednes. Let him prevente vices, and take awaye the occasions of offenses by well orderynge hys subjectes, & not by sufferinge wickednes to increase, afterward to be punyshed. Let hym not be to hastie in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a custome hathe abrogated: specially suche as have bene longe forgotten, and never lacked nor neaded. And let hym never under the cloke and pretence of transgression take suche fynes & forfaytes, as no judge wyll suffre a private persone to take, as unjuste and ful of gile.

**H**ERE if I should brynge forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, which be not farre distaunt from Utopia: whose kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a solempne othe, that he shall never at anye time have in hys treasure above a thousande pounce of golde or sylver. They saye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe and commoditie of his countrey, then for thenriching of him selfe, made this lawe, to be a stop & a barre

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

A straunge  
& notable  
lawe of the  
Macariens

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

to kinges from heaping & hording up so much money as might impoveryshe their people. for he foresawe that this som of treasure would suffice to supporte the kynge in battaile against his owne people, if they shoulde chaunce to rebell; and also to maintein his warres againste the invasions of his forreyn enemies. Againe he perceived the same stocke of money to be to litle & unsufficient to encourage & enable him wrongfully to take away other mens goodes: whyche was the chiefe cause whie the lawe was made. An other cause was this. He thought that by this provision, his people shoulde not lacke money wherewith to maynteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And seyng the kynge could not chuse but laye out and bestowe al that came in above the prescript some of his stocke, he thought he would seke no occasions to doe his subjectes injurie. Suche a kynge shalbe feared of evel men, and loved of good men. These, & suche other informations, yf I shoulde use among men wholy inclined and geven to the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers thinke you should I have?

**D**E Affe hearers douteles, quod I, & in good faith no marveye. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe that suche communication shalbe used, or suche counsell geuen, as you be suere shall never be regarded nor receaved. for howe can so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whose myndes be allredye prevented with cleane contrarye persuasions? This schole philosophie is not unpleasaunte amonge frendes in familiare communication, but in the counselles of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reasoned with greate authoritye, these thinges have no place.

Schole philosophie in the consultations of princes hath no place

**T**HAT is it whiche I mente, quod he, when I sayde philosophie hadde no place amonge kinges. In dede, quod I, this schole philosophie hath not, which thinketh all thinges mete for every place. But there is another philosophie more civile, whyche knoweth, as yewolde say, her owne stage, & there after orderynge & behavinge her selfe in the playe that she hathe in hande, play-

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

A fine and  
a fitte si-  
militude



A dumme  
plaier

ethe her parte accordingelye with com-  
lyenes, utteringe nothinge oute of dewe  
ordre & fassyon. And this is the philoso-  
phye that you muste use. Or els, whyles  
a commodye of Plautus is playinge, and  
the vyle bondemen skoffynge & tryffel-  
inge amonge themselves, yf you shoulde  
sodenlye come upon the stage in a phil-  
osophers apparrell, and reherse oute of  
Octavia the place wherein Seneca dis-  
puteth with Nero: had it not bene better  
for you to have played the domme per-  
sone, then by rehersynge that whych  
served neither for the tyme nor place, to  
have made suche a tragycall comedye or  
gallymalfreye? for by bryngynge in oth-  
er stuffe that nothing apperteynethe to  
the presente matter, you must nedes  
marre & pervert the play that is in hand,  
thoughe the stuffe that you bringe be  
much better. What part soever you have  
taken upon you, playe that as wel as you  
can and make the best of it: and doe not  
therefore disturbe and brynge out of  
ordre the whole matter, bycause that an  
other, whyche is meryer and better, cum-  
methe to your remembraunce. So the


case standeth in a common wealthe, and so it is in the consultations of kynges & prynces. Vfeuel opinions & noughty persuasions can not be utterly and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not even as you wolde remedy vices which use and custome hath confirmed, yet for this cause you muste not leave and forsake the common wealthe: you muste not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, because you can not rule & kepe downe the wyndes. No, nor you muste not labour to dryve into their heades newe & straunge informations, whyche you knowe wel shalbe nothinge regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrary mindes. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtell trayne studye & endevoure youre selfe, asmuche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye & handesomelye for the purpose, and that whyche you can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not verye badde. for it is not possible for al thinges to be well, onles all men were good; whych I thinke wil not be yet thies good many yeares.



The first  
booke of  
Utopia

**B**Y this meanes, quod he, nothing  
elles wyl be brought to passe, but  
whyles that I goe aboute to reme-  
dye the madnes of others, I shoulde be  
even as madde as they.  for if I wolde  
speake thinges that be trewe, I muste  
neades speake suche thinges: but as for  
to speake false thinges, whether that  
be a philosophers parte or no, I can not  
tel; truelye it is not my part.  Howebeit  
this communication of mine, thoughe  
peradventure it maye seme unplesante  
to them, yet can I not see why it shoulde  
seme straunge, or folishely newfangled.

The Uto-  
pian weale  
publique

 If so be that I should speake those  
thinges that Plato faynethe in his weale  
publique, or that the Utopians doe in  
theires, these thinges thoughe they were  
(as they be in dede) better, yet they  
myghte seme spoken oute of place. for  
asmuche as here amonges us, everye man  
hathe his possessions severall to him  
selfe, and there all thinges be common.

**B**UT what was in my communica-  
tion conteyned, that mighte not,  
and oughte not in anye place to be  
spoken? Savynge that to them whyche

have throughly decreed and determined with themselves to runne hedlonges the contrary waye, it can not be acceptable and plesaunt, because it calleth them backe, and sheweth them the jeopardies

¶ Verilye yf all thynges that evel and vitiousse maners have caused to seme inconvenient and noughte, should be refused, as thinges unmete and reproche-full, then we must among christen people wynke at the moste parte of al those thinges, whych Christ taught us, and so streitly forbad them to be winked at, that those thinges also whiche he whispered in the eares of his disciples he commaunded to be proclaimed in open houses. And yet the most parte of them is more dissident from the maners of the world nowe a dayes, then my communication was.

¶ But preachers, slie & wilie men, followynge youre counsel (as I suppose) bicause they saw men evelwilling to frame theyr manners to Christes rule, they have wrested & wriede his doctryne, and like a rule of leade have applyed it to mennes manners: that by some meanes at the leaste waye, they myght agree to-

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

gether. Whereby I cannot see what good they have done: but that men maye more sickerlye be euell. And I truelye shoulde preuaile even as litle in kinges counselles. for either I muste saye otherwayes then they saye, & then I were as good to saye nothinge, or els I muste saye the same that they saye, and (as Mitio saith in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. for that craftye wyle, and subtil traine of yours, I can not perceave to what purpose it serveth, wherewith you wolde have me to study & endeouvre my selfe, yf all thinges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomely for the purpose, that as farre forth as is possible, they may not be very evel. for there is no place to dissemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counselles muste be openlye allowed & verye pestilent decrees muste be approved. He shalbe counted worse then a spye, yea almoste as evel as a traytour, that with a faynte harte doth prayse evel and noyesome decrees. Moreover a man canne have no occasion to doe good, chaunsinge into the companye of them whych wyl soner per-

verte a good man, then be made good  
them selves: through whose evel com-  
pany he shalbe marred, or els if he re-  
mayne good & innocent, yet the wicked-  
nes and follye of others shalbe imputed  
to hym, and layde in his necke. So that  
it is impossible with that craftye wyele,  
and subtel trayne to turne anye thinge to  
better.


The first  
booke of  
Utopia

**W**HEREFORE Plato by a good-  
lye similitude, declareth why  
wise men refraine to medle in  
the common wealthe. for when they see  
the people swarme into the stretes, and  
daily wet to the skinne with rayne, & yet  
can not persuaade them to goe out of the  
rayne, & to take their houses, knowynge  
wel, that if they should goe out to them,  
they should nothinge prevayle, nor wyne  
ought by it, but with them be wette also  
in the raine, they do kepe them selves with-  
in their houses, being content that they  
be saffe them selves, seinge they cannot  
remedye the follye of the people.


**N**OWE be it, doubtlesse maister  
More (to speke truelye as my  
mynde geveth me) where posses-

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

sions be private, where money beareth all the stroke, it is harde and almost impossible, that there the weale publique maye justelye be governed, and prosperouslye floryshe. Onles you thinke thus: that justyce is there executed, where all thinges come into the handes of evell men, or that prosperitye there floryssheth, where all is divided amonge a fewe: whyche fewe neverthelesse doe not leade their lives very wealthely, and the residue lyve myserablye, wretchedlye, and beggerlye.

**W**HEREFORE when I consyder with my selfe and weye in my mynde, the wyse & godlye ordinances of the Utopians, amonge whome with verye fewe lawes al thinges be so wel & wealthelye ordered, that vertue is had in pryce and estimation, & yet all thinges beinge there common, everye man hath aboundaunce of everye thinge.  Againe on the other part, when I compare with them so manye nations ever makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all well & sufficientlye furnysshed with lawes: where everye man calleth that he hath gotten,



his owne proper and private goodes, where so many newe lawes daylye made be not sufficiente for everye man to enjoye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne: which thinge the infinite controversies in the lawe, daylye rysynge, never to be ended, playnly declare to be trewe.  These thinges, I say, when I consider with me selfe, I holde wel with Plato, and doe nothinge marveille that he woulde make no lawes for them that refused those lawes whereby all men shoulde have and enjoye equall portions of welthes and commodities. for the wise man did easely foresee this to bee the one and onlye waye to the wealth of a communaltye, yf equalitye of all thinges should be broughte in and stablyshed; whyche I thinke is not possible to be observed where everye mans gooddes be proper and peculiare to him selfe. for where everye man under certeyne tytles & pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe as much as he can, so that a fewe devide among them selves all the whole riches, be there never so muche abundaunce and stoore, there to

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

Plato  
wylled al  
thinges in  
a common  
wealth to  
be common

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

the residewe is lefte lacke, and povertie. And for the moste parte it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthye to enjoye that state of wealth, then the other be: bycause therychemen be covetous, craftye, and unprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple, and by theire daylye laboure more profitable to the common welthe then to themselves.

**T**HUS I doe fullye perswade me selfe, that no equall & juste distribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealth shall ever be among men, onles this propriety be exiled and bannished. But so long as it shal continew, so long shall remaine among the most and best part of men the hevy, and inevitable burden of poverty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be sumwhat eased, so I utterly denye that it can wholly be taken away. for if there were a statute made, that no man should possesse above a certeine measure of ground, and that no man shoulde have in his stocke above a prescripte and appointed some of money:

if it were by certein lawes decreed, that neither the kinge shoulde be of to greate power, neither the people to haute and wealthy, & that offices shoulde not be obteined by inordinate suite, or by brybes and gyftes: that they shoulde neither be bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde be nedeful for the officers to be at any cost or charge in their offices: for so occasion is geuen to theym by fraude and ravin to gather up their money againe, & by reason of giftes and bribes the offices be geuen to rich men, which shoulde rather have bene executed of wise men: by such lawes I say, like as sicke bodiees that be desperat & past cure, be wont with continual good cherissing to be kept and botched up for a time: so these evels also might be lightened and mitigated. But that thei may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and upryght state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles every man is maister of his owne to himselfe. Yea and whyles you goe aboute to doe youre cure of one parte, you shall make bygger the sore of an other parte, so the healpe of one causeth anothers harme: for as-

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

much as nothinge can be geuen to annye  
one, onles it be taken from an other.



**B**UT I am of a contrary opin-  
ion, quod I, for me think/  
eth that men shal never  
there live wealtheleye, where  
all thinges be commen. for  
howe can there be abund-  
aunce of gooddes or of anything, where  
every man withdraweth his hande from  
labour? Whome the regarde of his owne  
gaines driveth not to worke, but the hope  
that he hath in other mens travayles ma/  
keth him slowthfull. Then when they be  
pricked with povertye, and yet no man  
can by any lawe or right defend that for  
his owne which he hathe gotten with  
the labour of his owne handes, shal not  
there of necessitie be continual sedition  
and blodeshed? Speciallye the authori-  
tye and reverence of magistrates beinge  
taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye  
have with such men amonge whome is no  
difference, I cannot devise.



**L**MARVEL not, quod he,  
that you be of this opinion  
for you conceive in youre  
minde either none at al, or  
els a verye false image and  
similitude of this thing.

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

But yf you had bene with me in Utopia,  
& had presentely sene theire fasshions  
and lawes, as I dyd, whyche lived there  
v. yeares, and moore, & wolde never have  
commen thence, but onlye to make that  
new lande knowen here, then doubtles  
you wolde graunt, that you never sawe  
people wel ordered, but onlye there.

**S**URELY, quod maister Peter, it  
shalbe harde for you to make me  
beleve, that there is better order  
in that newe lande then is here in these  
countrys, that wee knowe for good  
wittes be as wel here as there: & I thinke  
our commen welthes be auncienter than  
theires: wherein long use and experience  
hath found out many thinges commodi-  
ous for mannes lyfe, besides that manye  
thinges heare among us have bene found  
by chaunce, whiche no wytte coulde ever  
have devysed.







**A**S touchinge the auncient-  
nes, quod he, of common  
wealthes, than you might  
better judge, if you had red  
the histories & cronicles of  
that land, which if we may  
beleve, citiees were there, before men were  
here. Nowe what thinge soever hetherto  
by witte hath bene deuised, or found by  
chaunce, that myght be as wel there as  
here. But I thinke verily, though it were  
so that we did passe them in witte: yet  
in study, in travaile, and in laboursome  
endeuoure they farre passe us. for (as  
theire chronicles testifie) before our arri-  
val there, they never hard any thing of us,  
whome they cal the ultraequinoctialles:  
saying that ones about M.CC.yeaes ago,  
a certeine shyppe was lost by the Ile of  
Utopia which was driven thether by tem-  
pest. Certeine Romaines & Egyptians  
were cast on lande. Whych after that ne-  
ver wente thence. Marke now what profite  
they tooke of this one occasion through  
delygence and earnesteste travaile. There  
was no crafte nor scyence within the im-  
pire of Rome wherof any proffite could

rise, but they either lerned it of these straungers, or els of them taking occasion to searche for it, founde it oute. So greate proffite was it to them that ever anye wente thyther from hence. But yf annye like chaunce before this hath brought anye man from thence hether, that is as quyte out of remembraunce, as this also perchaunce in time to come shalbe forgotten, that ever I was there. And like as they quickelye, almoste at the first meting, made theire owne, what so ever is amonge us wealthelye devised: so I suppose it wolde be long before we wolde receave anythinge that amonge them is better instituted then amonge us. And this I suppose is the chiefe cause whie theire common wealthes be wyse-lyer governed, and doe flowrish in more wealth than ours, though we neither in wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

**T**HEREFORE gentle Maister Raphael, quod I, I praye you and beseeche you, describe unto us the ilande. And study not to be shorte: but declare largely in order, their groundes, their rivers, their cities, theire people,

The first  
booke of  
Utopia

theire manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be short al thinges that you shal thinke us desierous to knowe. And you shal thinke us desierous to know what soever we knowe not yet.

**H**ERE is nothing, quod he, that I wil doe gladlier  for all these thinges I have freshe in mind. But the matter requireth leasure  Let us go in therfore, quod I, to dinner, afterward we wil bestowe the time at our pleasure. Content, quod he, be it.



O we went in & dyned. When dinner was done, we came into the same place again, & sate us downe upon the same benche, commaunding oure servauntes that no man should trouble us. Then I & Maister Peter Giles desiered Maister Raphael to performe his promise. He therefore seeing us desirous and willing to harken to him, when he had sit stil and paused a litle while, musinge & bethinkinge himselfe, thus he began to speake.

**The end of the firste boke.**

The seconde booke of the communication  
of Raphael Hythlodaye, concerning the  
best state of a common wealthe; con-  
teyninge the discription of Utopia, with  
a large declaration of the politike gov-  
ernement, and of all the good lawes and  
orders of the same Ilande.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia



THE Iland of Uto-  
pia, conteynethe  
in breadthe in the  
middel parte of it  
(for there it is bro-  
dest) CC. miles.  
Which bredthe con-  
tinueth throughe  
the moste parte of  
the lande, saving

The site  
& fashion  
of the  
newe y-  
lande U-  
topia

that by litle & litle it commeth in, & wax-  
eth narrower towards both the endes.  
Which fetching about a circuite or com-  
passe of V. C. miles, do fassion the whole  
Iland like to the new mone. Betwene these  
two corners the sea runneth in, dividyng  
them a sonder by the distaunce of xi miles  
or there aboutes, & there surmountethe  
into a large and wyde sea, which by reason  
that the land on every side compassethe




The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

A place  
naturally  
fenced ne/  
dethe but  
one garri/  
son

it about, & shiltreth it from the windes, is not roughe, nor mounteth not with great waves, but almost floweth quiettlye, not muche unlike a greate standinge powle: and maketh welnieghe all the space with/ in the bellye of the lande in maner of a haven: and to the great commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaveth in shyppes towardes everye parte of the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers of the ii corners, what with fordes and shelves, and what with rockes, beverye jeopardous & daun/ gerous. In the middle distaunce betwene them bothe standeth up above the water a great rocke, which therfore is nothing perillous, bycause it is in sight. Upon the top of this rocke is a faire and a strong tower builded, which they holde with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde under the water, which ther/ fore be daungerous. The channelles be knowen onely to themselves, & therfore it seldome chaunceth that anye straun- ger, oneles he be guided by an Utopian, can come into this haven, in so muche that they themselves could skasely entre withoute jeopardie, but that their way is



directed & ruled by certaine lande markes standing on the shore.  But turninge, translatinge, & removinge thies markes into other places, they maye destroye their enemies navies, be they never so many. The outside or utter circuit of the land is also ful of havens, but the landing is so suerly fenced, what by nature, & what by workemanshyps of mans hand, that a few defenders maye dryve backe many armies. Howbeit as they saye, and as the fassion of the place it selfe dothe partely shewe, it was not ever compassed about with the sea. But kyng Utopus, whose name as conquerour the Iland beareth (for before his tyme it was called Abraxa) which also broughte the rude & wild people to that excellent perfection in al good fassions, humanitye, & civile gentilnes, wherein they nowe goe beyond al the people of the world: even at his firste arrivinge and enteringe upon the lande, furthwith obteynynge the victory, caused xv myles space of uplandyshe grounde where the sea had no passage, to be cut and dygged up, and so brought the sea rounde aboute the lande. He set to this

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Apolitique  
devise in  
the chaun-  
ging of  
land  
markes

The Ilande  
of Utopia  
so named  
of king  
Utopus

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Many  
handes  
make light  
worke

Cities in  
Utopia

Similitude  
causeth  
concorde

A meane  
distaunce  
betwene  
citie and  
citie

worke, not only the inhabitauntes of the Ilande (because they should not thinke it done in contumelye & despyte) but also all his owne soldiours. Thus the worke beyng divided into so greate a nombre of workemen, was with excedinge marvelous spede dyspatched; in so muche that the borderers, whiche at the firste began to mocke, & to jeste at this vaine enterpryse, then turned their derision to marveyle at the successe, and to feare.



HERE be in the Ilande liiii large & faire cities, or shiere townes, agreynge all together in one tonge, in lyke manners, institucions, & lawes. They be all set and situate a lyke, and in al poyntes fashioned a lyke, as far forth as the place or plotte suffereth.

**O**f these cities, they that be nearest together be xxiiii myles asunder. Againe there is none of them distaunte from the nexte above one dayes journeye a fote. There com yearly to Amaurote out of every cytie iii oldemen, wyse and well experienced, there to entreate &

debate of the common matters of the lande. for this citie (because it standeth juste in the middes of the Ilande, and is therefore moste mete for the ambassadours of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade citie. The precinctes and boundes of the shieres be so commodiouslye appoynted oute, & set fourthe for the cities, that none of them all hathe of anye syde lesse then xx myles of grounde, & of some syde also muche more, as of that part where the cities be of farther distaunce asonder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the boundes & limites of theire shieres; for they counte them selves rather the good husbandes then the owners of theire landes.

**T**HEY have in the countrey, in all partes of the shiere, houses or fermes builded, wel appointed and furnyshed with all sortes of instrumentes & tooles belongynge to husbandedrye. These houses be inhabited of the citezens, whyche come thether to dwelle by course. No howsholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then xl persones, men and women, besydes two bondmen,

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The distri-  
bution of  
landes



But this  
nowadaies  
is the  
grounde  
of all mis-  
cheife

Husban-  
drie & til-  
lage cheflye  
and princi-  
pally re-  
garded &  
advaunced

whyche be all under the rule & order of the good man & the good wyfe of the house, beinge bothe verye sage, discrete, & aunciente persones. And every xxx fermes or families have one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche, beinge as it were a head baylyffe. ¶ Out of everyone of these families or fermes commeth everye yeare into the citie xx persones whiche have continued ij yeres before in the countreye. In theire place so manye freshe be sent thether oute of the citie, whoe, of them that haue bene there a yeare all readye, & be therefore expert and conninge in husbandry, shalbe instructed and taughte, & they the nexte yeare shall teache other. This order is used for feare that either skarsenes of victualles, or some other like incommoditie should chaunce, throughe lacke of knowledge; yf they should be altogether newe, and freshe, and unexperte in husbandrie.

**T**HIS maner and fassion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrye, though it be solempne & customablye used, to the intent that no man shall be constrayned



againste his wil to contynewe longe in  
 that harde and sharpe kynde of lyfe, yet  
 manye of them have suche a pleasure &  
 delyte in husbandrye, that they obteyne  
 a longer space of yeaeres. These husband-  
 men plowe and til the ground, & breede up  
 cattel, & provide and make ready woode,  
 whyche they carrye to the citie either by  
 lande, or by water, as they maye moste  
 conveniently.  They brynge up a greate  
 multitude of pulleyne, & that by a mer-  
 vaylouse policye. for the hennes dooe  
 not sytte upon the egges : but by keep-  
 ynge theym in a certayne equall heate, they  
 bryngelyfe into them, and hatche theym.  
 The chykens, assone as they become oute  
 of the shel, follow men & women in steade  
 of the hennes.  They brynge up verye  
 fewe horses : nor none but very fearece  
 ones : and that for none other use or pur-  
 pose, but onlye to exercyse theire youthe  
 in rydyng and feates of armes ; for oxen  
 be put to all the laboure of plowng and  
 drawinge : whiche they graunte to be not  
 so good as horses at a sodeyne brunte,  
 and (as we saye) at a deade lifte, but yet  
 they holde opinion, that oxen wil abide &

The  
 seconde  
 booke of  
 Utopia

The due-  
 ties of men  
 of husban-  
 drye

A straunge  
 fassion in  
 hatchinge  
 & bringing  
 up of pul-  
 leyne

The use of  
 horses

The use of  
 oxen



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Bread and  
drink

A great  
discretion  
in sowing  
of corne

suffre muche more labour, payne & hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and subject unto so many diseases, and that they be kepte and mainteined with muche lesse coste & charge: and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be past labour. ¶ They sowe corne onelye for breade. for their drinke is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares, or els it is cleare water. And many times meathe, made of honey or licouresse sodde in water, for thereof they have great store. And though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) howe muche vitailles the citie wyth the whole countrey or shiere rounde aboute it doeth spende, yet they sowe muche more corne, and bryed up muche more cattell, then serveth for their owne use, partyng the over plus among their borderers. ¶ What soever necessarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all suche stuffe they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchaunge they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. for every moneth manie of them go into the citie on the holy daye. When

theyr harvest day draweth neare, and is at hande, then the Philarches, which be the head officers & bailifes of husbandrie, sende word to the magistrates of the citie what numbre of harvest men is nedefull to be sente to them oute of the citie; the whiche companye of harvest men beyng readye at the daye appoynted, almost in one fayre daye dispatcheth all the harvest woorke.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Mutual  
helpe  
quickely  
dispatch-  
eth

### Of the cities & namely of Amaurote ✱



S for their cities, who so knoweth one of them knoweth them all: they be al so like one to another, as far furthe as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe therefore

to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which: but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all, this is the worthiest and of most dignitie; for the

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

resideu knowledge it for the head citie,  
because there is the counsell house. Nor  
to me anye of them all is better beloued,  
as wherin I lived five whole yeares to-  
gether.

The des-  
cription of  
Amaurote  
the chiefe  
citie in U-  
topia



THE citie of Amaurote stand  
eth upon the side of a lowe  
hill in fashyon almost foure  
square. for the breadth of  
it beginneth a litle beneth  
the toppe of the hill, & still  
continueth by the space of two miles, un-  
till it come to the ryver of Anyder. The  
length of it, which lieth by the ryvers syde,  
is sumwhat more. The river of Anyder  
riseth four & twentiemyles above Amau-  
rote out of a litle springe. But beyng in-  
creased by other smale riuers & broukes  
that runne into it, and amonge other, two  
sumwhat bygge ons, before the citie it is  
halfe a mile broade, and farther broader.  
And fortie myles beyonde the citie it fal-  
leth into the ocean sea. By all that space  
that liethe betwene the sea and the citie,  
and certen myles also above the citie, the  
water ebbeth and floweth sixe houres to-  
gether with a swift tide. When the sea

The des-  
cription of  
the river of  
Anyder

floweth in, for the length of thirtiē miles it filleth all the Anyder with salte water, and driveth backe the freshe water of the ryver. And sumwhat further it chaungeth the swetenes of the freshe water with saltnes. But a litle beyonde that, the river waxeth swete, & runneth foreby the citie freshe and pleasaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, & goeth backe againe, the freshe water foloweth it almooste even to the verie fal into the sea. ¶ Ther goeth a bridge over the river made not of piles or of timber, but of stonewarke with gorgeous & substancial arches at that part of the citie that is farthest from the sea: to the intent that shippes maye passe a longe forbie all the side of the citie without let. ¶ They have also an other river which in dede is not verie great; but it runneth gentely & pleasauntly. for it riseth even oute of the same hill that the citie standeth upon, & runneth downe a slope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And because it riseth a litle withoute the citie, the Amaurotians have inclosed the head springe of it with stronge fences and bulwarkes, & so have joyned

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The verie  
like in En-  
gland in  
the river of  
Thamys

Herein also  
doeth Lon-  
don agre  
with Am-  
aurote



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The use of  
freshe wa-  
ter

The de-  
fence of  
towne  
walles

Stretes

Build-  
inges and  
houses

it to the citie. This is done to the intende that the water shoulde not be stopped nor turned away, or poysoned, if their enemies should chaunce to come upon them. from thence the water is derived and conueied downe in cannels of bricke diuers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place wyll not suffer it, there they gather the raine water in great cisternes, whiche doeth them as good ser-vice.

**T**HE citie is compassed aboute with a heighe and thicke stone walle full of turrettes and bulwarkes. A drie ditch, but deape, and brode, and over-grown with bushes, briers, & thornes, goeth aboute thre sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side, the river it selfe serveth for a ditch.

**T**HE stretes be appointed and set furth very commodious & handy some, both for carriage, and also againste the windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the strete side they stande joyned together in a long rowe through the whole streate,



without any partition or separation. The stretes be twentie foote brode. On the backe side of the houses through the whole length of the streete, lye large gardens inclosed rounde aboute wyth the backe part of the streetes. Everye house hathe two doores, one into the streete, & a posterne doore on the backsyde into the garden. These doores be made with two leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easie to be opened, that they wil followe the least drawing of a fynger, and shutte againe alone. Whoso will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houses that is private, or anie mans owne. And every tenth yeare they chaunge their houses by lot.

**T**HEY set great store by their gardens. In them they have vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes, & flowers, so pleasaunt, so well furnished, and so fynely kepte, that I never sawe thynge more fruteful, nor better trimmed in anye place. Their studie and deligence herein commeth not onely of pleasure, but also of a certen strife and contention that is betwene strete & strete, concerning the

The seconde booke of Utopia

To every dwelling house a garden platte adjoynynge

This geere smelleth of Plato his communitie

The commoditie of gardens is commended also of Vergile

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

trimming, husbanding, and furnisshing of their gardens; everye man for his owne parte. And verelye you shall not lightelye finde in all the citie anye thinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the profite of the citizens, or for pleasure; and therefore it maye seme that the first founder of the citie mynded nothing so much, as these gardens. for they saye that kinge Utopus him selfe, even at the first beginning, appointed & drewe furth the platte fourme of the citie into this fashon and figure that it hath now, but the gallant garnishinge, and the beautifull settinge furth of it, wherunto he sawe that one mannes age would not suffice; that he left to his posteritie. for their cronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumspection, conteinyng the historie of M. vii. C. lx. yeares, even from the firste conquest of the Ilande, recorde and witnesse that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely cotages or poore sheppard houses, made at all adventures of everye rude pece of tymber, that came firste to hande, with mudde walles, & ridged rooffes, thatch-

ed over with strawe. But nowe the houses  
be curiouslye buylded after a gorgious  
& gallante sorte, with three storyes one  
over another. The outsides of the walles  
be made either of harde flynte, or of plas-  
ter, or els of bricke, and the inner sydes  
be well strengthened with tymber work.  
Therooffes be plaine & flat, covered with  
a certen kinde of plaster that is of no  
coste, and yet so tempered that no fyre  
can hurt or perishe it, and withstandeth  
the violence of the wether better then any  
leade. They kepe the winde oute of their  
windowes with glasse, for it is ther much  
used, and somhere also with fine linnen  
cloth dipped in oyle or ambre, & that for  
two commodities; for by thys meanes  
more lighte commeth in, and the winde  
is better kepte oute.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Glased or  
canvased  
windowes

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Of the magistrates ❀❀



VERYE thirtie families or fermes, chuese them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the Syphograunte, & by a new name the Philarche. Every ten Syphograuntes, with

al their thirtie families be under an officer which was ones called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe Philarche. Moreover as concerninge the election of the Prince, all the Syphograuntes, which be in number 200, first be sworne to chuese him whom they thinke mooste mete & expediente. Then by a secrete election, they name prince one of those iiij. whome the people before named unto them. for oute of the iiij. quarters of the citie there be iiij. chosen, oute of every quarter one, to stande for the election; whiche be put up to the counsell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, oneles he be deposed or put downe for suspition of tirannie. They

A trani-  
bore in the  
Utopiane  
tonge sig-  
nifieth a  
head or  
chief peere

A mar-  
velous  
straunge  
fassion in  
chusinge  
magis-  
trates

Tyranny in  
a wel ordered weale publique utterlie to be abhorred



chuese the Tranibores yearly, but light-  
lie they chaunge them not. All the other  
officers be but for one yeare. The Trani-  
bores everye thyrde daye, and sumtimes,  
yf nede be, oftener, come into the coun-  
sell house with the prince.

**T**HEIR counsell is concerninge the  
common wealthe. If there be anye  
controversies amonge the com-  
moners, whiche be verye fewe, they dis-  
patch & ende them by and by. They take  
ever ij. Siphograuntes to them in coun-  
sel, and everi dai a new coupel. And it is  
provided, that nothinge touchinge the  
common wealthe shalbe confirmed and  
ratified, onlesse it have bene reasoned of  
and debated thre daies in the counsell,  
before it be decreed.

**I**T is deathe to have anye consulta-  
tion for the common wealthe oute  
of the counsell, or the place of the  
common election. This statute, they saye,  
was made to the entent that the prince  
& Tranibores might not easilye conspire  
together to oppresse the people by ty-  
rannie, and to chaunge the state of the  
weale publik. *Therefore matters of great*

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

*Sutes and  
controversies be-  
twene par-  
tie & partie  
furthwith  
to be ended  
which now  
a daies of a  
set pur-  
pose be un-  
reasonably  
delaied*

*Against  
hastie and  
rashe de-  
cries or  
statutes*



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

A custome  
worthy to  
be used  
these daies  
in our coun-  
sels & par-  
liamentes

weight and importance be broughte to the election house of the Siphograuntes, which open the matter to their families; & afterwarde, when they have consulted amonge themselves, they shew their devise to the counsell. Somtime the matter is brought before the counsel of the whole Ilande.

**F**URTHERMORE this custome also the counsel useth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same daye that it is firste proposed or put furthe, but to defferre it to the nexte syttinge of the counsell. Because that no man when he hath rashely there spoken that commeth to his tonges ende, shall then afterwarde rather studye for reasons wherwith to defende & mainteine his firste folish sentence, than for the commoditie of the common wealth; as one rather willing the harme or hinderaunce of the weale publike then any losse or diminution of his owne existimation; and as one that would be ashamed (which is a verie folishe shame) to be counted anye thing at the firste oversene in the matter, who at the firste ought to have spoken rather wyselye, then hastely, or rashlye.

## Of Sciences, Craftes & Ocupations. ❀



**H**USBANDRIE is a science common to them all in generall, bothe men & women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all instructed even from their youth: partlie in their scholes with traditions & preceptes, and partlie in the countrey nigh the citie, brought up as it were in playinge, not onely beholding the use of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandrie, whiche (as I saide) is common to them all, everye one of them learneth one or other several & particular science, as his owne proper crafte. That is most commonly either clothworking in wol or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smithes craft, or the carpenters science. for there is none other occupation that any number to speake of doth use there.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Husban-  
drie or til-  
lage prac-  
tised of all  
estates,  
which now  
a dayes is  
reject unto  
a fewe of the  
basest sort

Sciences or  
occupations  
should be  
learned for  
necessities  
sake, & not  
for the  
maynten-  
aunce of ri-  
otous ex-  
cesse and  
wanton  
pleasure

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Similitude  
in apparell

No citizein  
without a  
science

To what oc-  
cupation  
everyone is  
naturallie  
inclined  
that let him  
learne

**F**OR their garmentes, which through-  
oute all the Ilande be of one fash-  
ion (savyng that there is a differ-  
ence betwene the mans garmente and the  
womans, betwene the married and the un-  
married), & this one continueth for ever-  
more unchaunged, semely and comelie to  
the eye, no lette to the movynge & weld-  
ynge of the bodye, also fytte bothe for  
wynter and summer: as for these gar-  
mentes (I saye) every familie maketh their  
owne; but of the other foresaide craftes  
everye man learneth one. And not onely  
the men, but also the women. But the  
women, as the weaker sort, be put to the  
easier craftes; as to worke wolle & flaxe.  
The more laborsome sciences be com-  
mitted to the men. for the mooste part  
every man is broughte up in his fathers  
crafte, for moste commonlye they be na-  
turallie therto bente and inclined. But yf  
a mans minde stande to anye other, he is  
by adoption put into a familie of that  
occupation which he doth most fantasy.  
Whome not onely his father, but also the  
magistrates do diligently loke to, that he  
be put to a discrete and an honest house

holder. Yea, and if anye person, when he hath learned one craft, be desierous to learne also another, he is likewyse suffered & permitted. When he hath learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll, one lesse the citie have more neede of the one, then of the other. The chiefe & almooste the onelye offyce of the Syphograuntes is, to see and take hede, that no manne sit idle, but that everye one applye hys owne craft with earnest diligence; and yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morninge, to late in the evenninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe & toylinge beastes.

**F**OR this is worse then the miserable and wretched condition of bondemen. Whiche nevertheles is almooste everyewhere the lyfe of workemen and artificers, saving in Utopia. for they, dividynge the daye & thenyghte into xiiij. juste houres, appointe & assigne onelye sixe of those houres to woorke before noone, upon the whiche they go streighte to diner: and after diner, when they have rested two houres, then they worke iii. houres, and upon that they go

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Idel per-  
sones to be  
driven out  
of the weale  
publique

A modera-  
tion in the  
laboure and  
toyle of ar-  
tificers



to supper. About eyghte of the cloke in the eveninge (counting one of the clocke at the firste houre after noone) they go to bedde: eyght houres they geve to slepe. All the voide time, that is betwene the houres of worke, slepe, and meate, that they be suffered to bestowe, every man as he liketh best him selfe. Not to thintent that they shold mispend this time in riote or slouthfulnes, but beyng then licensed from the laboure of their owne occupations, to bestow the time well and thriftely upon some other science, as shall please them.

**F**OR it is a solempne custome there, to have lectures daylye, early in the morning, where to be presente they onely be constrained that be namelye chosen & appoynted to learninge. Howbeit a greate multitude of every sort of people, both men & women go to heare lectures, some one and some an other, as everye mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestowe this time upon his owne occupation (as it chaunceth in manye, whose mindes rise not in the contemplation of any science



liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also praysed and commended, as profitable to the common wealthe.

**A**FTER supper they bestow one houre in playe: in summer in their gardens: in winter in their commen halles: where they dine & suppe. There they exercise themselves in musike, or els in honest and wholsome communication. Dice/ playe, and suche other folishe and pernicious games they know not; but they use ij. games not much unlike the chesse. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre stealeth awaye another. The other is wherin vices fyghte with vertues, as it were in battel array, or a set fyld. In the which game is verye properlye shewed, bothe the striffe & discorde that vices have amonge themselves, and agayne theire unitye and concord against vertues; & also what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues: with what powre and strength they assaile them openlye: by what wiles and subtelty they assaulte them secretelye: with what helpe & aide the vertues resiste, and overcome the puissaunce of the vices: by what craft

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Playing af-  
ter supper

But now a-  
daies dice-  
play is the  
pastime of  
princes

Plaies or  
games also  
profitable

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory.

**B**UT here, least you be deceived, one thinge you muste looke more narrowly upon. for seinge they bestowe but vi. houres in woorke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges hereof maye ensewe. But this is nothinge so. for that smal time is not only enough but also to muche for the stoore and abundaunce of all thinges, that be requisite, either for the necessitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you also shall perceave, if you weye and consider with your selves how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyveth ydle. first, almost all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonlye in their steade the men be ydle. Besydes this, how greate, & how ydle a companye is there of preystes, & relygious men, as they cal them? Out thereto al ryche men, speciallye all landed men, which comonlye be called gentilmen, and noble men:

The kyndes  
and sortes  
of ydel  
people

Women

Priestes &  
religious  
men. Riche  
men & land/  
ed men

take into this numbre also theire ser-  
 vauntes: I meane all that flocke of stoute  
 bragging russhe bucklers. Joyned to them  
 also sturdy & valiaunte beggers, clokinge  
 their idle lyfe under the coloure of some  
 disease or sickenes, and trulye you shal  
 find them much fewer then you thought,  
 by whose labour al these thinges are  
 wrought, that in mens affaires are now  
 daylye used and frequented. Nowe con-  
 syder with youre selfe, of these fewe that  
 doe woorke, how fewe be occupied, in ne-  
 cessarye woorkes. for where money bea-  
 eth all the swinge, there many vayne and  
 superfluous occupations must nedes be  
 used, to serve only for ryotous superflu-  
 ite, and unhonest pleasure. for the same  
 multitude that now is occupied in woork,  
 if they were devided into so fewe occupa-  
 tions as the necessarye use of nature re-  
 quyreth: in so greate plentye of thinges  
 as then of necessity woulde ensue, doubt-  
 les the prices wolde be to lytle for the arti-  
 fycers to maynteyne theire livinges. But  
 yf all these that be nowe busied about un-  
 profitable occupations, with all the whole  
 flocke of them that lyve ydellye & slouth,

The  
 seconde  
 booke of  
 Utopia

Servyng-  
 men

Sturdy and  
 valiaunt  
 beggers

Wonderfull  
 wittely  
 spoken

The  
seconde  
Booke of  
Utopia

fullye, whyche consume & waste, everye one of them, more of these thinges that come by other mens labour then ij. of the workemen themselves doo: yf all these, I saye, were sette to profytable occupatyons you easelye perceave howe lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea, & to muche, to stoore us with all thinges that maye be requisite either for necessitie, or for commoditye, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be trewe and natural.

**A**ND this in Utopia the thinge it selfe makethe manifeste & playne. for there in all the citee, with the whole contreye or shiere adjoyning to it, scarcely 500 persons of al the whole numbere of men & women, that be neither to olde nor to weake to worke, be licensed & discharged from labour. Amonge them be the Siphograuntes (whoe thoughte they be by the lawes exempte and privileged from labour) yet they exempte not themselves; to the intent they may the rather by their example provoke other to worke. The same vacation from labour do they also enjoye, to whome the people, perswaded by the commendation

Not as-  
much as  
the magi-  
strates live  
idelly

of the priestes, & secrete election of the Siphograuntes, have geuen a perpetual licence from laboure to learninge. But if any one of them prove not accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaved, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarie wise, often it chaunceth that a handi-craftes man doth so earnestly bestowe his vacaunte and spare houres in learninge, & throughe diligence so profyteth therin, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. ¶ Oute of this ordre of the learned be chosen ambassadours, priestes, tranibores, & finallye the prince him selfe; whome they in theire olde tongecal Barzanes, & by a newer name, Adamus. The residewe of the people being neither ydle, nor yet occupied about unprofitable exercises, it may be easely judged in how fewe houres how muche good woorke by them may be doone and dispatched, towards those thinges that I have spoken of.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Onely  
learned men  
called to offices



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

How to a-  
voyd exces-  
sive cost in  
building

**T**HIS commodity they have also  
above other, that in the most part  
of necessarye occupations, they  
neade not so much work, as other na-  
tions doe. for first of all, the buildinge  
or repayringe of houses asketh everye  
where so manye mens continual labour,  
bicause that the unthrifty heires suffereth  
the houses that his father buylded, in  
contyneuance of tyme to fall in decay;  
so that which he myghte have upholden  
wyth lytle coste, hys successoure is con-  
streyned to buylde it agayne a newe, to  
his great charge. Yea, manye tymes also,  
the howse that stooode one man in muche  
moneye, another is of so nyce and soo  
delycate a mynde, that he settethe no-  
thinge by it; & it beyng neglected, and  
therefore shortelye fallynge into ruyne,  
he buyldethe uppe another in an other  
place with no lesse coste & chardge. But  
amonge the Utopians, where all thinges  
be sett in a good ordre, and the common  
wealth in a good staye, it very seldom  
chaunceth, that they cheuse a newe plotte  
to buyld an house upon. And they doo  
not only finde spedy & quicke remedies

for present faultes: but also prevente them that be like to fall; & by this meanes their houses continewe & laste very longe, with litle labour and smal reparations; in so much that this kind of woorkmen somtimes have almost nothinge to doc. But that they be commaunded to hewe timbre at home, and to square & trimme up stones, to the intente that if anye woorke chaunce, it may the spedelierrise.

**N**OW Syr, in their apparell, marke, I praye you, howe few woorkmen they neade. fyrste of al, whyles they be at woorke, they be covered homely with leather or skinnes, that will last vii. yeares. When they go furthe abroad they caste upon them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparel. These clookes through out the whole Iland be all of one coloure, and that is the natural coloure of the wul. They therefore do not only spend much lesse wullen clothe then is spent in other contreis, but also the same standeth them in muche lesse coste. But linnen clothe is made with lesse labour, and is therefore hadde more in use. But in linnen cloth onely whyte-

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

How to  
lessen the  
charge in  
apparel

nesse, in wullen only clenlynnes is regard-  
ed. As for the smalnesse or finenesse of  
the threde, that is no thinge passed for.  
And this is the cause wherfore in other  
places iiij. or v. clothe gownes of dyvers  
coloures, and as manye silke cootes be  
not enoughe for one man. Yea, and yf he  
be of the delicate and nyse sorte x. be to  
fewe: whereas there, one garmente wyl  
serve a man mooste commenlye ij. yeares.  
for whie shoulde he desyre moo? seinge  
yf he had them, he should not be the bet-  
ter hapte or covered from colde, neither  
in his apparel anye whitte the comlyer.  
Wherefore, seinge they be all exercysed  
in profitable occupations, and that fewe  
artificers in the same craftes be suffici-  
ente, this is the cause that plentye of all  
thinges beinge among them, they doo  
sometymes bringe forth an innumerable  
companye of people to amend the hyghe  
wayes, yf anye be broken. ¶ Many times  
also, when they have no suche woorke to  
be occupied aboute, an open proclama-  
tion is made, that they shall bestowe few-  
er houres in woorke. for the magistrates  
doe not exercise their citizens againste

theire willes in unneade full laboures. for  
 whie in the institution of that weale pub-  
 lique, this ende is onelye and chiefly pre-  
 tended and mynded, that what time maye  
 possibly be spared from the necessarye  
 occupacions and affayres of the commen  
 wealth, all that the citizeins shoulde with-  
 drawe from the bodely service to the free  
 libertye of the minde, and garnisshinge  
 of the same. for herein they suppose the  
 felicitye of this liffe to consiste.

The  
 seconde  
 booke of  
 Utopia

Of theire Livinge and Mutual Conversa-  
 tion together ❀❀



At now wil I de-  
 clare how the ci-  
 tizens use them-  
 selves one to-  
 wardes another:  
 what familiar oc-  
 cupieng & enter-  
 teynement there  
 is amonge the  
 people, and what

fassion they use in the distribution of  
 every thing.

**F**IRSTE the city consisteth of families, the families most commonly be made of kinredes. for the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into their husbandes houses. But the male children, with al the whole male ofspringe continewe still in their owne family and be governed of the eldest and auncientest father, onles he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his rowme. But to thintent the prescript number of the citezens shoulde neither decrease, nor above measure increase, it is ordeined that no familie which in every citie be vi. thousand in the whole, besydes them of the contrey, shall at ones have fewer children of the age of xiiij. yeares or thereabout then x. or mo then xvi.; for of children under this age no numbere can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or numbere is easely observed and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be above the number into families of smaller increase. But if chaunce be that in the whole citie the stoore encrease above the just number, therewith they fil



up the lacke of other cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole Ilande passe & excede the dewe number, then they chuese out of every citie certain cītezens, and build up a towne under their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes have much waste and unoccupied ground, receaving also of the same countrey people to them, if they will ioine & dwel with them. They thus joyning & dwelling together do easelye agre in one fassion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples, for they so bringe the matter about by theire lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is now sufficient & fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabitauntes of that land wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryve them out of those boundes which they have limited and apointed out for them selves. And if they resiste and rebel, then they make warre agaynst them.

**F**OR they counte this the moste juste cause of warre, when anye people holdeth a piece of grounde

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable use, kepyng other from the use and possession of it, whiche notwithstanding by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nouryshed and relieved.

**I**f anye chaunced dosomuche dimin-  
ishe the number of any of theire  
cities, that it cannot be fylled up  
agayne, without the diminishynge of the  
just numbre of the other cyties (whiche  
they say chaunced but twyse synce the  
beginnyng of the lande throughe a greate  
pestilente plague) then they fulfyll and  
make up the numbre with cytezens fetch-  
ed out of theire owne forreyne townes,  
for they had rather suffer theire forreyne  
townes to decaye and peryshe, then any  
cytie of theire owne Ilande to be dimin-  
ished.

So might  
we well be  
discharged  
and eased  
of the ydle  
company of  
servyng-  
men

**A**t nowe agayne to the con-  
versation of the cytezens  
amonge themselves. The  
eldeste, as I sayde, ruleth  
the familye. The wyfes bee  
ministers to theire hus-  
bandes, the children to theire parentes,  
and to bee shorte, the yonger to theire

elders. Everye cytie is devided into foure The  
 equall partes or quarters. In the myddes seconde  
 of every quarter there is a market place of booke of  
 all maner of thinges. Thether the workes Utopia  
 of every familie be brought into certeyne  
 houses, & everye kynde of thing is layde  
 up severall in barnes or store houses.  
 from hence the father of everye familie,  
 or every housholder fetchethe whatso-  
 ever he and his have neade of, and carieth  
 it away with him without money, with-  
 out exchaunge, without any gage, pawne,  
 or pledge. for why shoulde any thing be  
 denyed unto him? seynge there is abun-  
 daunce of all thinges, and that it is not  
 to bee feared, leste anye man wyll aske  
 more then he neadeth. for whie should it  
 be thoughte that that man woulde aske  
 more then anough, which is sewer never  
 to lacke?

**C**ERTEYNELY in all kyndes of **The cause**  
 lyvinge creatures either feare of **of coveteus**  
 lacke dothe cause covetousnes & **& extortion**  
 ravyne, or in man only pryde, which count-  
 eth it a glorious thinge to passe and excel  
 other in the superfluous and vayne os-  
 tentation of thinges. The whyche kynde

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Of the  
slaughter  
of beastes  
we have lear-  
ned man-  
slaughter

fylth & or-  
dure bring  
the infect-  
ion of pes-  
tilence into  
cyties

of vice amonge the Utopians can have no place.

**N**EXT to the market places that I spake of, stande meate markettes: whether be brought not only all sortes of herbes, and the fruities of trees, with breade, but also fishe, and all maner of iiij. footed beastes, & wilde foule that be mans meate. But first the fylthynes and ordure therof is clene washed awaye in the renningeryver without the cytie, in places appoynted mete for the same purpose. from thence the beastes be brought in kyled, and cleane wasshed by the handes of their bondemen, for they permitte not their frie citizens to accustome them selves to the killing of beastes, through the use whereof they thinke clemencye, the gentleste affection of oure nature, by lytle & lytle to decaye & peryshe. Neither they suffer any thinge that is fylthye, lothesom, or unclenlye, to be broughte into the cytie, least the ayre by the stenche therof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases.



**MOREOVER** everye strete hath The  
 certeyne great large halles sett seconde  
 in equal distaunce one from an booke of  
 other, everye one knowen by a severall Utopa  
 name. In these halles dwell the Sypho-  
 grauntes. And to everye one of the same  
 halles be apoynted xxx. families, on either  
 side xv. The stewardes of everye halle at  
 a certayne houre come in to the meate  
 markettes, where they receyve meate ac-  
 cordinge to the number of their halles.

**BUT** first & chieflie of all, respect is  
 had to the sycke, that be cured in  
 the hospitalles. for in the circuite  
 of the citie, a litle without the walles,  
 they have iiij. hospitalles, so bigge, so  
 wyde, so ample, and so large, that they  
 may seme iiij. litle townes, which were de-  
 vised of that bignes, partely to thintent,  
 the sycke, be they never so many in num-  
 bre, shuld not lye to thronge or strayte,  
 and therfore uneasely, and incommodi-  
 ously: and partely that they which were  
 taken and holden with contagious dis-  
 eases, suche as be wonte by infection to  
 crepe from one to an other, myght be  
 layde apart farre from the company of

Care, dili-  
 gence and  
 attendance  
 about the  
 sicke



the residue. These hospitalles be so wel appointed, and with al thinges necessary to health so furnished, and more over, so diligent attendaunce through the continual presence of cunning phisitians is geven, that though no man be sent thither against his will, yet notwithstanding there is no sicke persone in al the citie, that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne house. When the stewarde of the sicke hath received suche meates as the phisitians have prescribed, then the beste is equallye devided among the halles, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the byshop, the tranibours, & to ambassadours & all straungers, if there be any, which be very fewe and seldome. ¶ But they also when they be there, have certeyne severall houses apointed & prepared for them. To these halles at the set houres of dinner & supper commeth all the whole Siphograuntie or warde, warned by the noyse of a brasen trumpet: except suche as be sicke in the hospitalles, or els in their owne houses. ¶ Howbeit no man is prohibited or for-

bid, after the halles be served, to fetch home meate out of the market to his own house, for they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cause reasonable. for though he no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willyngly; because it is counted a pointe of smal honestie. And also it were a follye to take the payne to dresse a badde diner at home, when they may be welcome to good & fyne fare so neighe hande at the hall.

**I**N this hall, al vile service, all slavery, & drudgerie, with all labour-some toyle, and base busines is done by bondemen. But the women of every family by course have the office & charge of cookerie for sethinge and dressing the meate, & orderinge all thinges therto belongyng. They sit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbre of their company. The men sitte upon the bench next the wall, and the women againste them on the other side of the table, that yf anye sodeyne evyll should chaunce to them, as many tymes happeneth to women with chylde, they maye

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Every man  
is at his lib-  
ertie, so that  
nothing is  
done by  
compulsion

Women  
bothe  
dresse and  
serve the  
meate

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Nourceis

Nothing  
soner pro-  
voketh men  
to wel do-  
yng then  
praise and  
commend-  
ation

The educa-  
tion of  
yonge chil-  
dren

rise wythoute trouble or disturbaunce of  
anye bodie, & go thence into the nurcerie.

**T**HE nurceis sitte severall alone  
with theyr younge suckelinges  
in a certaine parloure appointed  
and deputed to the same purpose, never  
without fire and cleane water, nor yet  
without cradels, that when they wyll they  
maye laye downe the younge infantes, &  
at theyr pleasure take them oute of their  
swathynge clothes, & holde them to the  
fire, & refreshe them with playe. Every  
mother is nource to her owne childe, onles  
either death, or sycknes be the let. When  
that chaunceth, the wives of the Sypho-  
grauntes quykelye provyde a nource.  
And that is not harde to be done; for they  
that can doo it, profer themselves to no  
service so gladye as to that. Because that  
there thys kinde of pitie is muche pray-  
sed: and the chylde that is nourished, ever  
after taketh his nource for his owne na-  
turall mother. Also amonge the nour-  
ceis, sytte all the children that be under  
the age of v. yeares. All the other chyl-  
dren of bothe kyndes, aswell boyes as  
girlles, that be under the age of mary-

age, do eyther serve at the tables, or els if they be to yonge therto, yet they stand by with marvailous silence. ¶ That whiche is geven to them from the table they eate, and other several dynner tyme they have none. The Siphograunte & his wife sitte in the myddes of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honorablest place, & because from thence all the whole companie is in their sight. for that table standeth overthwarte the over ende of the hall. To them be joyned two of the auncientest & eldest. for at everye table they sit four at a meesse. But yf there be a church standing in that Syphograuntie or warde, then the priest and his wife sit teth with the Siphograunt, as chiefe in the company. On both sydes of them sit yonge men, and nexte unto them againe olde men. ¶ And thus through out all the house, equall of age be sette together, and yet be mixt and matched with unequal ages. This, they say, was ordeyned, to the intent that the sage gravitie and reverence of the elders should kepe the yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behavioure. forasmuch as nothyng

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The yong  
mixed with  
their elders



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Olde men  
regarded &  
reverenced

This now a  
daies is ob-  
served in  
oure univer-  
sities

Talke at the  
table

can be so secretlye spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other muste nedes perceave it. ¶ The dishes be not set down in order from the first place but all the olde men (whose places be marked with some speciall token to be knowen) be first served of their meate, & then the residue equally. The olde men devide their deinties, as they think best, to the yonger on eche syde of them.



¶ THUS the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neverthelesse equall commoditie commeth to every one. They begin every dinner & supper of redyng sumthing that perteneth to good maners & vertue. But it is shorte, because no man shalbe greved therwith. Hereof the elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sadde nor unpleasaunt. ¶ Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinertime themselves with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare also the yonge men: yea, & purposelye provoke them to talke, to then-



tent that they may have a profe of every mans wit, and towardnes, or disposition to vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feasting doth shew & utter it self. Their diners be verie short: but their suppers be sumwhat longer, because that after dyner foloweth laboure, after supper slepe & natural reste, whiche they thinke to be of more strength and efficacie to wholsome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without musicke. Nor their bankettes lacke no conceytes nor jonketes. They burne swete gummes and spices or perfumes, and pleasaunt smelles, & sprinkle aboute swete oyntementes & waters, yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for the cheringe of the companye. for they be muche enclined to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleasure forbydden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus therfore and after this sort they live together in the citie, but in the countrey they that dwell alone, farre from any neighboures, do dyne & suppe at home in their owne houses. for no familie there lacketh any kinde of victualles, as from whom commeth all that the citezens eate and lyve by.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

This is  
repugnaunt  
to the opin-  
ion of our  
phisitions

Musick at  
the table

Pleasure  
without  
harme not  
discom-  
mendable

Of their journeyng or travayling abroad,  
with divers other matters cunninglye rea-  
soned, and wyttilye discussed. ❀❀



AT if any be desierous to visite either theyr frendes dwelling in an other citie, or to see the place it selfe: they easilie obteyne licence of their Siphograuntes and Tranibores, onlesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone, but a companie is sente furth together with their princes letters, which do testifie that they have licence to go that journey, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. ❀ They have a wageyn geven them, with a common bondman, which driveth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But onles they have women in their companie, they sende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment & a let. ❀ And thoughe they carye nothyng furth with them, yet in all their jorney they lack nothing. for whersoever they come, they be at home.

**I**f they tary in a place longer then one daye, than there every one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly entertained of the workemen & companies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade & without leave, walke out of his precinct and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitive or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharpely punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke abroad into the felde, or into the countrey that belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obtaininge the good wil of his father, and the consente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the countrey soever he cometh, he hath no meat geven him until he have wrought out his forenones taske, or dispatched so muche worke, as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Observing this law and condition, he may go whether he wil within the boundes of his own citie. for he shalbe no les profitable to the citie, then if he were within it.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

O holy com/  
mon wealth,  
& of Chris-  
tians to be  
folowed

Equalitie is  
the cause  
that every  
man hath  
enoughe

Now you se how litle liberte they have to loiter: howe they can have no cloke or pretence to ydlenes. There be neither wine-tavernes, nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor anye occasion of vice or wickednes, no lurking corners, no places of wycked counsels or unlawfull assemblies. But they be in the present sighte, and under the eies of every man. So that of necessitie they must either apply their accustomed labours, or els recreate themselves with honest & laudable pastimes.



**H**IS fashion and trade of life, being used amonge the people, it cannot be chosen, but that they muste of necessitie have store & plentie of all thinges. And seying they be all therof parteners equallie, therefore can no man there be poore or nedie. In the counsell of Amaurot, whether, as I said, every citie sendeth three men a pece yearly, assone as it is perfectly known of what thinges there is in every place plentie, & againe, what thinges be skant in any place: incontinent the lacke of the one is perfourmed and fill-



ed up with the aboundaunce of the other. And this they do frely without anye benefite, taking nothing againe of them, to whom that thinges is given; but those citie that have geuen of their store to any other citie that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of that same citie, do take suche thinges as they lacke of an other citie, to the which they gave nothinge.

**S**O the whole ylande is as it were one familie, or housholde. But when they have made sufficient provision of store for themselves (which they thinke not done until they have provided for two yerres folowinge, because of the uncertentie of the next yeares proffes) then of those thinges wherof they have abundaunce, they carie furth into other countreis great plentie: as grayne, honnie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and livinge beastes. And the seventh parte of all these thynges they geve franckelye and frelie to the pore of that countrey. The residewe they sell at a reasonable & meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchaundise, they bring into their own

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

A common  
wealth is  
nothing  
elles but a  
great house/  
hold

The traf-  
fique & mar-  
chaundise  
of the Uto-  
pians




The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

In all  
thinges and  
above all  
thinges to  
their com-  
munitie thei  
have an eye

By what  
pollicie mo-  
ney may be  
in lesse es-  
timation

contrey, not only great plenty of golde and silver, but also all suche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoste nothinge but iron. And by reason they have longe used this trade, nowe they have more aboundaunce of these thinges then any man wyll beleve. Nowe therfore they care not whether they sell for readye money, or els upon truste to be payed at a daye, and to have the mooste parte in debtes. But in so doyng they never followe the credence of privat men: but the assuraunce or warrauntise of the whole citie, by instrumentes & writings made in that behalfe accordingly. When the daye of paiement is come & expired, the citie gathereth up the debte of the private debtoures, & putteth it into the common boxe, and so longe hathe the use and profite of it, untill the Utopians, their creditours, demaunde it. The mooste parte of it they never aske. for that thyng whiche is to them no profite, to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conscience. But if the case so stand, that they must lende part of that money to

an other people, then they require theyr debte: or when they have warre. for the whiche purpose onelye they kepe at home all the treasure which they have, to be holpen and socoured by it either in extreame jeopardyes, or in suddaine daungers. But especiallye & chieflie to hieere therewith, & that for unreasonable greates wayges, straunge soldiours. for they hadde rather put straungers in jeopardie, then theyr owne countreyemen: knowinge that for money ynoughe, their enemyes themselves many times may be boughte & solde, or elles through treason be sette together by the eares among themselves.  for this cause they kepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure: but so they have it, & use it, as in good faythe I am ashamed to shewe: fearinge that my woordes shall not be beleved. And this I have more cause to feare, for that I knowe howe difficultlie and hardelye I meselfe would have beleved an other man tellinge the same, if I hadde not presentlye sene it with mine owne eyes.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

It is better  
either with  
money or by  
pollicie to  
avoyde  
warre, then  
with much  
losse of  
mans bloud  
to fight

O fyne  
wytte



FOR it muste needs be, that howe farre a thyng is dissonaunt and disagreeing from the guise & trade of the hearers, so farre shall it be out of their belefe. Howbeit, a wise and indifferent estimator of thynges, will not greatlye marveill perchance, seynge all theyr other lawes and customes do so muche differre from oures, yf the use also of gold and sylver amonge them be applied, rather to their owne fashyons, than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not money themselves, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it may happen, so it maye be, that it shall never come to passe.



IN the meane time golde & sylver. whereof money is made, they do so use, as none of them doethe more esteme it, then the verye nature of the thing deserveth. And then who doeth not playnelye se howe farre it is under iron: as without the whiche men can no better lyve then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and silver nature hath geven no use, that we may not well lacke:

Golde  
worse then  
yron as  
touchynge  
the neces-  
sarie use  
therof

if that the foliye of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation for the rarenesse sake. But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooste tender and lovyng mother, hathe placed the beste & mooste necessarie thinges open abroade: as the ayere, the water, and the yearth it selfe. And hathe removed and hyd farthest from us vayne and unprofitable thinges. Therefore if these metalles amonge them shoulde be fastelocked up in some tower, it might be suspected, that the prince and the counsell (as the people is ever foolish helie ymagininge) intended by some subiltie to deceave the commons, and to take some profite of it to themselves. furthermore, if they shold make therof plate, and such other finelie and cunninglie wroughte stuffe: if at anye time they should have occasion to breake it, and melte it againe, therewith to paye their souldiers wages, they see and perceave verye well, that men woulde belothe to parte from those thinges, that they ones begonne to have pleasure and delite in.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

O wonder-  
full contu-  
melie of  
golde

Golde the  
reprochful  
badge of in-  
famed per-  
sons

**T**O remedie all this they have founde  
oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agre-  
able to all their other lawes and cus-  
tomes, so it is from ours, where golde is  
so much set by and so diligently kept,  
very farre discrepant & repugnaunt; and  
therfore incredible, but onelye to them  
that be wise. for where as they eate and  
drinke in earthen and glasse vesselles,  
whiche in dede be curiouslye & properlie  
made, and yet be of very smal value: of  
golde and sylver they make commonly  
chaumber pottes, and other vesselles,  
that serve for moste vile uses, not one-  
ly in their common halles, but in every  
mans private house. **F**urthermore, of  
the same mettalles they make greate  
chaines, fetters, and gieves wherein they  
tie their bondmen. **F**inally, whosoever  
for anye offense be infamed, by their  
eares hange rynges of golde: upon their  
fynghers they weare rynges of golde, and  
aboute their neckes chaines of golde: &  
in conclusion their heades be tied aboute  
with gold. **T**hus by al meanes possi-  
ble thei procure to have gold and silver  
among them in reproche & infamie. And



these metalles, which other nations do as greuously & sorowefullye forgo, as in a manner theirowne lives: if they should altogethers at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia


**T**HEY gather also pearles by the sea side, and diamondes and carbuncles upon certen rockes, & yet they seke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and polish them. And therewith thei deck their yonge infants. Whiche like as in the first yeres of their childhod, they make much and be fonde & proude of such ornamentes, so when they be a litle more growen in yeares & discretion, perceiuing that none but children do weare such toies and trifels: they lay them awaye even of their owne shamefastenesse, wythoute anye byddyng of their parentes: even as oure chyl dren, when they waxe bygge, doo caste awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Therefore these lawes and customes, whiche be so farre differente from al other nations, howe diuers fan-

Gemmes  
& precious  
stones,  
toyes for  
yonge child-  
ren to playe  
withall

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

A very plea-  
saunt tale

tasies also and myndes they doo cause,  
dydde I neuer so playnelie perceave, as  
in the Ambassadors of the Anemoli-  
ans.

**T**HESE Ambassadors came to  
Hmaurote whiles I was there.  
And because they came to en-  
treate of great and weightie matters,  
those three citizens a pece oute of everie  
citie were comen thether before them.   
But all the Ambassadors of the nexte  
countreis, whiche had bene there before,  
and knewe the fashions and maners of  
the Utopians, amonge whome they per-  
ceaved no honoure geven to sumptuous  
apparell, silkes to be contemned, golde  
also to be infamed and reprochful, were  
wont to come thether in verie homelye &  
simple araie. But the Anemolians, be-  
cause they dwell farre thence, and had  
very litle aquaintaunce with them: hear-  
inge that they were all apparelled a like,  
and that verie rudely & homely: think-  
inge them not to have the thinges whiche  
they did not weare: being therfore more  
proude, then wise: determyned in the  
gorgiousnes of their apparel to repre-

sente verye goddes, & wyth the brighte shynynge and glisterynge of their gay clothing to dasell the eyes of the silie poore Utopians. So there came in iiii. Ambassadors with c. servauntes all apparelled in chaungeable colours: the moste of them in silkes: the Ambassadors themselves (for at home in their owne countrey they were noble men) in cloth of gold, with great cheines of gold, with golde hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes upon their fingers, with brouches & aglettes of gold upon their cappes, which glistered ful of peerles and pretious stones: to be short, trimmed & adourned with al those thinges, which among the Utopians were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed persones, or elles trifels for yonge children to playe withal. Therefore it wolde have done a man good at his harte to have sene howe proudelye they displayed their pecockes fethers, howe muche they made of their paynted sheathes, and howe loftely they set forth and advaunced them selves, when they compared their gallaunte apparrell

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

with the poore rayment of the Utopians. for al the people were swarmed forth in to the stretes. And on the other side it was no lesse pleasure to consider howe muche they were deceived, and how farre they missed of their purpose, being contrary wayes taken then they thought they should have bene.

**F**OR to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for some resonable cause, al that gorgeousnes of apparrel semed shamefull and reprocheful. In so muche that they most reverently saluted the vilest and most abject of them for lordes: passing over the Ambassadors themselves without any honour: judging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmen. ¶ Yea you shoulde have sene children also, that had caste away their peerles & pretious stones, when they sawe the like sticking upon the Ambassadors cappes: digge & pushe their mothers under the sides, sainge thus to them. Loke mother how great a lubbor do the yet were peerles and precious stooness, as though


he were a litel child stil. But the mother,  
yea and that also in good earnest: peace  
sone, saith she: I thinke he be some  
of the Ambassadors fooles. Some  
founde faulte at theire golden cheines,  
as to no use nor purpose, being so smal  
& weake, that a bondeman might easely  
breake them, and agayne so wyde and  
large, that when it pleased him, he myght  
cast them of, & runne away at libertye,  
whether he woulde. But when the Am-  
bassadours hadde bene there a daye or  
ii. & sawe so greate abundaunce of gold  
so lyghtely esteimed, yea in no lesse re-  
proche, then it was with them in honour:  
& besides that, more golde in the cheines  
& gieves of one fugitive bondman, then  
all the costelye ornamentes of them iii.  
was worth: they beganne to abate their  
courage, and for very shame layde away  
al that gorgyouse arraye, whereof theye  
were so proud. And specyally when they  
had talked familiarlye with the Utopians,  
and had learned al theire fassions and  
opinions.



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Doubtful  
he calleth  
it, either in  
considera-  
tion and re-  
specte of  
counterfeite  
stones, or  
elles he call-  
eth doubte-  
ful very lit-  
tel worthe

A true saing  
and a wittie

**F**OR they marveyle that any men  
be so folyshe, as to have delite &  
pleasure in the doubteful glister-  
inge of a lytil tryffelynge stone, which  
maye beholde annye of the starres, or  
elles the sonne it selfe. Or that anyeman  
is so madde, as to count him selfe the  
nobler for the smaller or fyner threde of  
wolle, which selfe same wol (be it now in  
never so fyne a sponne threde) a shepe  
did ones weare: and yet was she all that  
time no other thing then a shepe.  They marveile also that golde, whych  
of the owne nature is a thinge so unpro-  
fytable, is nowe amonge all people in so  
hyghe estimation, that man him selfe,  
by whome, yea & for the use of whome,  
it is so much set by, is in muche lesse  
estimation, then the golde it selfe. In so  
much that a lumpyshe blockehedded  
churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte  
then an asse, yea and as ful of noughty-  
nes as of follye, shall have nevertheles  
manye wyse and goodmen in subjectyon  
and bondage, only for this, bycause he  
hath a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf  
it shoulde be taken from hym by anye

fortune, or by some subtyll wyle & cautele of the lawe, (which no lesse then fortune dothe bothe raise up the lowe, and plucke downe the highe) and be geuen to the most vile slave and abject dryvell of all his housholde, then shortely after he shal goo into the service of his servaunt as an augmentation or overplus beside his money. But they muche more marvell at and detest the madnes of them, whyche to those riche men, in whose debte and daunger they be not, do give almost diuine honoures, for none other consideration, but bicause they be riche: and yet knowing them to bee suche nigeshe penny fathers, that they be sure as longe as they live, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold shall come to them.

**T**HESSE and such like opinions have they conceaved, partely by education, beinge brought up in that common wealth, whose lawes and customes be farre different from these kindes of folly, & partely by good literature and learning. for though there be not many in every citie, which be ex-

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Howe muche  
more witte  
is in the  
heades of  
the Utopi-  
anes then of  
the common  
sorte of  
christianes

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The studies  
& literature  
amonge the  
Utopianes

empte and discharged of all other laboures, and appointed only to learning, that is to saye: suche in whome even from their very childhode they have perceaved a singular towardnes, a fyne witte, and a minde apte to good learning: yet all in their childhode be instructe in learninge. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women throughe oute all their whole lyffe doo bestowe in learninge those spare houres, which we sayde they have vacante from bodelye laboures. They be taughte learninge in their owne natyve tong. for it is bothe copious in woordes, and also pleasaunte to the eare: and for the utteraunce of a mans minde very perfecte and sure.

**T**HE mooste parte of all that syde of the worlde useth the same langage, savinge that amonge the Utopians it is fyneste and pureste, & accordinge to the dyversytye of the contreys it is dyverslye alterede.

**O**f all these philosophers, whose names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to us knowen, before oure cummyng thether, not as-

much as the fame of annye of them was cumen amonge them. And yet in Musike, Logike, Arythmetyke, and Geometrye they have founde oute in a manner, all that oure auncient philosophers have tawghte. But as they in all thinges be almoste equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes, so oure newe logiciens, in subtyl inventions have farre passed & gone beyonde them. ¶ For they have not deuyssed one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications and suppositions, verye wittelye invented in the small logicalles, whyche heare oure children in every place do learne. furthermore they were never yet hable to fynde out the seconde intentions: insomuche that none of them all coulde ever see man himselfe in comen, as they cal him, though he be (as you knowe) bygger then ever was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of us even wyth our fynger. ¶ But they be in the course of the starres, & the moynges of the heavenly spheres verye expert and cunnyng. They have also wittely excogitated & diuised instrumentes of diuers fassions: wherin is exactly

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Musike  
Logike  
Arithem-  
etike  
Geometrie

In this place  
semethe to  
be anipping  
taunte

Astronomie



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Yet amonge  
christians  
this geere is  
highly es-  
timated thies  
daies

Naturall  
philosophie  
is a know-  
ledge most  
uncertein

Moral phi-  
losophie

The order  
of good  
thinges

comprehended and conteyned the mov-  
ynges and situations of the sonne, the  
mone, and of al the other starres, which  
appere in theire horizon. But as for the  
amities & dissentions of the planettes,  
and all that deceyteful divination by the  
starres, they never asmuch as dreamed  
therof. Raynes, windes, & other courses  
of tempestes they knowe before by cer-  
teine tokens, which they have learned by  
long use & observation. But of the causes  
of al these thinges and of the ebbinge,  
flowinge, & saltenes of the sea, and final-  
lye of the original begynnynge & nature  
of heaven and of the worlde, they holde  
partelye the same opinions that oure olde  
philosophers hold, & partely, as our phi-  
losophers varye among themselves, so  
they also, whiles they bringe newe rea-  
sons of thinges, do disagree from all  
them, and yet among themselves in all  
poyntes they doe not accorde. In that  
part of philosophie, which intreateth of  
manners and vertue, theire reasons and  
opinions agree with ours. They dispute  
of the good qualities of the soule, of the  
body, and of fortune. And whether the



name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onely to the endowmentes and giftes of the soule.

**T**HEY reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is, in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consistethe. But in this poynte they seme almoste to muche geuen and enclyned to the opinion of them which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefyste parte of mans felicitye to reste. And (whyche is more to bee marveled at) the defense of this soo deyntye and delicate an opinion, they fetche even from theire grave, sharpe, bytter, and rigorous religion. for they never dispute of felicity or blessednes, but they joyne unto the reasons of philosophye certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche, to the investigation of trewe felicitye, they thynke reason of it selfe weake and unperfected.

**T**HOSE principles be these & such lyke. That the soule is immortal: & by the bountifull goodnes of God ordeined to felicitie. That to our vertues

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The endes  
of good  
thinges

The Utopi-  
anes holde  
opynion  
that felycy-  
tie consist-  
ethe in hon-  
est pleasure

The princi-  
ples of phi-  
losophye  
grounded  
upon reli-  
gion




The theolo-  
gie of the  
Utopianes

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The immor-  
talitie of the  
soule, wher-  
of these  
dayes cer-  
taine Chris-  
tians be in  
doubte

As every  
pleasure  
ought not  
to be im-  
braced, so  
griefe is not  
to be pursu-  
ed but for  
vertues sake

and good deades, rewardes be appointed  
after this life, & to our euel deades pun-  
ishmentes. ¶ Though these be perteyn-  
ing to religion, yet they thincke it mete  
that they shoulde be beleved & graunted  
by profes of reason. But yf these prin-  
ciples were condemned and dysanulled,  
then without anye delaye they pronounce  
no man to be so folish, whiche would not  
do all his diligence and endeoure to ob-  
teyne pleasure by ryght or wronge, onlye  
avoydyng this inconveniencce, that the  
lesse pleasure should not be a let or hin-  
derauce to the bigger: or that he labour-  
ed not for that pleasure, whiche would  
bringe after it displeasure, greefe, and  
sorrow. for they judge it extreame mad-  
nes to folowe sharp and peynful vertue,  
and not only to bannishe the pleasure of  
life, but also willingly to suffer griefe,  
without anye hope of proffit thereof en-  
suinge. for what proffit can there be, if a  
man, when he hath passed over all his lyfe  
unpleasauntly, that is to say, miserablye,  
shall have no rewarde after his death? ¶  
But nowe syr, they thinke not felicitie to  
reste in all pleasure, but only in that plear

sure that is good and honeste, and that hereto, as to perfet blessednes our nature is allured & drawen even of vertue, whereto onely they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicitie. for they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, & that we be here unto ordeined of god. And that he dothe followe the course of nature, which in desiering and refusinge thinges is ruled by reason.  furthermore that reason doth chiefly & principallye kendle in men the love and veneration of the devine maiestie. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, & that we be in possibilitie to attayne felicitie.  And that secondarely it bothe stirreth and provoketh us to leade our lyfe oute of care in joy and mirth, & also moveth us to helpe and further all other in respecte of the societe of nature to obtaine and enjoye the same.  for there was never man so earnest and paineful a follower of vertue and hater of pleasure, that wold so injoyne you laboures, watchinges, and fastinges, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten, & relieve, to your powre, the lack & misery of others,

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

In this definition of vertue they agre with the Stoicians

The worke and effecte of reason in man

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

But nowe a  
daies some  
ther bee that  
wyllinglye  
procure  
unto them-  
selves paine,  
full griefes,  
as though  
therin rest-  
ed some  
hieghe  
pointe of re-  
ligion, where  
as rather the religiously disposed person, yf they hap-  
pen to him either by chaunce or elles by naturall neces-  
sitie, ought pacientlye to receave and suffer them.

praying the same as a dede of humani-  
tie, and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of  
humanitie for man to bring health and  
comforte to man, & speciallye (which is  
a vertue moste peculiarlye belonging to  
man) to mitigate and assuage the greife  
of others, and by takyng from them the  
sorowe and hevynnes of lyfe, to restore  
them to joye, that is to saye to pleasure:  
whie maye it not then be sayd, that na-  
ture doth provoke everye man to doo the  
same to himselfe?

**F**OR a joyfull lyfe, that is to say, a  
pleasaunt lyfe is either evel: and if  
it be so, then thou shouldest not  
onlye helpe no man therto, but rather,  
as much as in the lieth, withdrawe all men  
frome it, as noysome & hurteful, or els if  
thou not only mayste, but also of dewty  
art bound to procure it to others, why not  
chiefely to thy selfe? To whome thou art  
bound to shew asmuch favoure and gen-  
telnes as to other. for when nature bid-  
deth the to be good and gentle to other




she commaundeth the not to be cruell & ungentle to thy selfe. Therefore even very nature, saye they, prescribeth to us a joyful lyfe, that is to say, pleasure as the ende of all oure operations. And they define vertue to be lyfe ordered accordynge to the prescripte of nature. But in that, that nature dothe allure and prouoke men one to healepe another to lyve merily (which suerly she doth not without a good cause: for no man is so farre above the lotte of mans state or condition, that nature dothe carke and care for hym onely, whiche equallye favoureth all that be comprehended under the communion of one shape forme and fassion) verely she commaundeth the to use diligent circumspection, that thou do not so seke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities.

Bargaynes  
and Lawes


**W**HEREFORE their opinion is, that not only covenantes and bargaynes made amonge private men ought to be well and faythefully fulfilled, observed, and kepte, but also commen lawes, which either a good prince hath justly publyshed, or els the




The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

people neither oppressed with tyrannye, neither deceived by fraude & gyell, hath by their common consent constituted & ratified, concerninge the particion of the commodities of lyfe, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These lawes not offended, it is wysdome, that thou looke to thine own wealthe. And to doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reverent love, or any naturall zeale & affection to thy native countreye. But to go about to let an other man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong.  Contrary wyse to withdrawe somethinge from thy selfe to geve to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche never taketh awaye so muche commoditie, as it bringethe a-gayne. for it is recompensed with the retourne of benefytes; & the conscience of the good dede, with the remembraunce of the thankefull love and benevolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bryngemore pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou hast withholden from thy selfe coulde have brought to thy bo-

The mutual  
recourse of  
kindnes

dye  finallye (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easy to be persuaded) God recompenseth the gifte of a short and smal pleasure with great and everlastinge joye. Therefore the matter diligently weyede & considered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themselves be referred at the last to pleasure, as their ende and felicitie.

The  
second  
booke of  
Utopia

**P**LEASURE they call every motion and state of the bodie or mynde, wherein man hath naturally delectation.  Appetite they joyne to nature, and that not without a good cause. for like as, not only the senses, but also right reason coveteth whatsoever is naturally pleasaunt, for that it may be gotten without wrong or injurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painful labour, even so those thinges that men by vaine ymagination do fayne against nature to be pleasaunt (as though it laye in their power to chaunge the thinges, as they do the names of thinges) al suche pleasures they beleve to be of so small helpe and

The defini-  
tion of  
pleasure

false and  
counter-  
feate plea-  
sures

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The errour  
of them  
that esteeme  
themselves  
the more for  
apparelles  
sake

furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte them a great let & hinderaunce. Because that in whom they have ones taken place, all his mynde they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and naturall delectations. for there be many thinges, which of their owne nature conteyne no plesantnes: yea the moste parte of them muche griefe & sorrowe. And yet throughe the perverse & malicyous flickeringe inticementes of lewde and unhoneste desyres, be taken not only for speciall and soveraigne pleasures, but also be counted amonge the chiefe causes of life. ¶ In this counterfeate kinde of pleasure they put them that I spake of before; whiche the better gownes they have on, the better men they thinke them selves. In the which thing they doo twyse erre. for they be no lesse deceived in that they thinke theire gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themselves the better. ¶ For if you consider the profitable use of the garmente, whye should wulle of a fyner sponne threde, be thought better then the wul of a course sponne threde?

Yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their mistaking, avaunce themselves, and thinke the price of their owne persones thereby greatly encreased. And therefore the honour, which in a course gowne they durstenot have looked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for theyr fyner gownes sake. And if they be passed by without reverence, they take it displeasauntly and disdainfullye.

**A**ND agayne, is it not a lyke madnes to take a pryde in vayne & unprofitable honours? for what naturall or trewe pleasure doest thou take of an other mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this ease the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrensie of thy hede? In this ymage of counterfeite pleasure, they be of a marvelous madnesse, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, rejoyse muche in their owne conceyte. Because it was their fortune to come of suche auncetoures, whose stocke of longe tyme hath bene counted ryche (for now nobilitie is nothinge elles) speciallye riche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one foote

folish  
honore

Vaine no-  
bilitie



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Pleasure in  
precious  
stones  
most folish

The opini-  
on & fansie  
of people  
doth aug-  
ment and  
diminishe  
the price &  
estimation  
of precious  
stones

of lande, or els they themselves have pys-  
sed it agaynste the walles, yet they thinke  
themselves not the lesse noble therfore  
of one heare. ¶ In this number also they  
counte them that take pleasure & delite,  
as I said, in gemmes & precious stones,  
& thynke themselves almooste goddes,  
if they chaunce to gette an excellent one,  
specialle of that kynde, whiche in that  
tyme of their owne cowntre men is had in  
hyghest estimation. for one kynde of  
stone kepeth not his pryce styll in all  
countreis, and at all times. Nor they bye  
them not, but taken out of the golde, and  
bare: no nor so neither, untill they have  
made the seller to sweare that he will war-  
raunte & assure it to be a true stone, and  
no counterfeit gemme. ¶ Suche care they  
take lest a counterfeite stone should de-  
ceave their eyes in steade of a ryghte  
stone. But why shouldest thou not take  
even as much pleasure in beholdynge a  
counterfeite stone, whiche thine eye can-  
not discerne from a righte stone? They  
shoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee,  
even as to the blynde man.



**W**HAT shall I saye of them that kepe superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholdinge, and not in the use or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew pleasure, or elles be thei deceived with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrarie vice, hidinge the gold whiche they shall never occupye, nor peradventure never se more? And whiles they take care leaste they shall leese it, do leese it in dede. for what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takynge it bothe frome their owne use, & perchaunce frome all other mennes also? And yet thou, when thou haste hydde thy treasure, as one out of all care, hoppest for joye. The whiche treasure, yf it shoulde chaunce to bee stolen, & thou, ignoraunt of the thefte, shouldest dye tenne yeares after: all that tenne yeares space that thou lyvedest after thy money was stoolen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene taken awaye or elles safe as thou lefteste it? Trewlye bothe wayes like profytte came to thee.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Beholders  
of treasure,  
not occupi-  
yng the  
same

Hyders of  
treasure

A pretie  
fiction and  
a wittie

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Dice playe

Huntinge &  
hawkinge

Hunting the  
basest parte  
of bouchers  
among the  
Utopians,  
and yet this  
is now the  
exercise of  
most noble  
men

**T**O these so foolyshe pleasures they  
joyne dicers, whose madnesse they  
knowe by hearsay, and not by use.  
Hunters also, & hawkers. for what plea-  
sure is there, saye they, in castinge the  
dice upon a table, which thou hast done  
so often, that if there wer any pleasure  
in it, yet the oft use might make thee  
verie thereof? Or what delite can there  
be, & not rather dyspleasure in hearynge  
the barkynge and howlynge of dogges?  
Or what greater pleasure is there to be  
felte, when a dogge followeth an hare,  
then when a dogge followeth a dogge?  
for one thinge is done in bothe, that is  
to saye, runnyng, yf thou haste plea-  
sure therein. But yf the hope of slaugh-  
ter, and the expectation of tearynge in  
peces the beaste doth please thee: thou  
shouldest rather be moved with pitie to  
see a selye innocente hare murdered of a  
dogge: the weake of the stronger, the  
fearefull of the fearece, the innocente of  
the cruell and unmercyfull.

**T**HEREFORE all thys exercyse  
of huntynge, as a thyng unwor-  
thy to be used of free men, the

Utopians have rejected to their bouchers, to the whiche crafte, as we sayde before, they appointe their bondemen. for they counte huntynge the lowest, the vyleste, and mooste abjecte part of boucherie, and the other partes of it more profitable, & more honeste, as bryngyng much more commoditie, in that they kyll beastes onely for necessitie; where as the hunter seketh nothinge but pleasure of the see, lye & wofull beastes slaughter and murder. The whiche pleasure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth rise in the very beastes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaunged in continuance of time into crueltie, by longe use of so cruell a pleasure. ¶ These therfore and all suche like, whiche be innumerable, though the common sorte of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seing there is no natural pleasauntnes in them, do playnly determine them to have no affinity with trew and right pleasure. ¶ For as touchinge that they do commonlye move the sense wyth delectation (whiche semeth to be a woorke of pleasure) this doeth nothyng diminishe their opini-

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

on. for not the nature of the thing, but their perverse and lewde custome is the cause hereof. Whiche causeth them to accept bitter or sowre thynges for swete thynges. ¶ Even as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taste, thynke pytche & tallowe sweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannes judgemente depraved and corrupte, either by syckenes, or by custome, can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can do the nature of other thinges.

The kindes  
of trew pleasures

**T**HEY make divers kindes of pleasures. ¶ for some they attribute to the soule, and some to the body. To the soule they geve intelligence, and that delectation that commethe of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is joyned the pleasaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe paste. ¶ The pleasure of the bodye they devide into ii. partes. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt & perceaved. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreshing of those partes, whiche oure naturall heate drieth up. This commeth by meate and drynke. And sometymes whyles those

The pleasures of the  
bodye



thynges be expulsed, and voyded, wher  
of is in the body over great abundaunce.  
This pleasure is felt, when we do our nar  
tural easement, or when we be doying the  
acte of generation, or when the ytching  
of any part is eased with rubbyng or  
scratchynge. Sometimes pleasure ris  
eth exhibitinge to any membre nothyng  
that it desireth, nor takynge from it any  
paine that it feeleth, which neverthesse  
tikleth and moveth oure senses wyth a  
certeine secrete efficacie, but with a mani  
fest motion turnethe them to it. As is  
that whiche commeth of musicke.


The  
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Utopia



**T**HE seconde parte of bodely pleas  
ure, they say, is that which con  
sisteth and resteth in the quiete  
and upryghte state of the bodye. And  
that trewlye is everye mannes owne pro  
pre health entermingled and disturbed  
with no griefe. for this, yf it be not let  
ted nor assaulted with no greif, is delect  
able of it selfe, thoughe it be moved with  
no externall or outwarde pleasure. for  
though it be not so plain and manifeste  
to the sense, as the gredye luste of eat  
ynge and drynkynge, yet neverthesse

Bodily  
health



manye take it for the chieffeste pleasure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right sovereigne pleasure, and as you woulde saye the foundation and grounde of all pleasures, as whiche even alone is hable to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasaunt. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place lefte for any pleasure. for to be without greife not havinge health, that they call unsensibilitie, and not pleasure.

**T**HE Utopians have long ago reject-  
ed and condempned the opinion of  
them, whiche sayde that stedfaste  
and quiete healthe (for this question al-  
so hath bene diligently debated amonge  
them) oughte not therfore to be counted  
a pleasure, bycause they saye it can not  
be presentlye and sensiblye perceaved &  
felte by some outwarde motion. But of  
the contrarie parte nowe they agree al-  
mooste all in this, that healthe is a moost  
soveraigne pleasure.  for seyng that  
in sycknesse, saye they, is greiffe, whiche  
is a mortal enemie to pleasure, even as  
sicknes is to health, why should not then  
pleasure be in the quietnes of health? for

they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you say that sycknesse is a griefe, or that in sickenes is griefe, for all commethe to one purpose. for whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fier is of heate, true lye bothe wayes it foloweth, that they cannot be withoute pleasure, that be in perfect helth.  furthermore whiles we eat, say they, then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode against hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the upper hande, that same procedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonte strength ministreth that pleasure, wherby we be so refreshed.  Health therfore, whiche in the conflict is joyefull, shall it not be mery, when it hath gootten the victorie? But as soone as it hath recovered the pristinate strength, which thing onely in all the fight it coveted, shal it incontinent be astonied? Nor shal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealth and goodnes? for where it is said, healthe cannot be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew. for what man wakyng, saye they, fel

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Delectation

The plea-  
sures of the  
mynde

ethe not himselfe in health : but he that is not? Is there anye man so possessed with stonische insensibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to say, the sleeping sickness, that he will not graunt health to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleasure?

**T**HEY imbrace chieflie the pleasures of the mind. for them they counte the chiefest & most principall of all. The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue, & conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministreth, they geve the preeminence to helth. for the delight of eating and drinking, & whatsoever hath any like pleasauntnes, they determine to be pleasures muche to be desired, but no other wayes than for healths sake. for suche thinges of their own proportion be not so pleasaunt, but in that they resiste sicknesse priuely stealing on. Therefore like as it is a wisemans part, rather to avoid sicknes, then to wishe for medicines, & rather to drive away & put to

flight carefull griefes, then to call for comfort : so it is muche better not to neade this kinde of pleasure, then thereby to be eased of the contrarie griefe. The whiche kinde of pleasure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that man must nedes graunt, that then he shalbe in most felicitie, if he live that life which is led in continuall hunger, thurst, itching, eatinge, drynkyng, scratchyng, & rubbing. The which life how not only foule, & unhonest, but also howe miserable and wretched it is, who perceveth not ? These doubtles be the basest pleasures of al, as unpure and unperfect. for they never come, but accompanied with their contrarie griefes. As with the pleasure of eating is joynd hunger, and that after no very egal sort. for of these ii. the griefe is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuance. for it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth not until the pleasure die with it. Wherefore suche pleasures they thinke not greatlye to be set by, but in that thei be necessari. ¶ Howbeit they have delite also in these, and thankfulli knowledge that tender love of mo-

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The giftes  
of nature

ther nature, which with most pleasaunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessarie use wherof they must from time to time continually be forced and driven. for how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these dailie greffes of hunger and thurst coulde not be driven awaye, but with bitter potions, & sower medicines, as the other diseases be, wherwith we be seldomer troubled? But beutie, strengthe, nemblenes, these as peculiar and pleasaunt giftes of nature they make much of.

**B**UT those pleasures that be re-  
ceaved by the eares, the eyes, and  
the nose, whiche nature willet to  
be proper & peculiar to man (for no oth-  
er livinge creature doth behold the faire-  
nes and the bewtie of the worlde, or is  
moved with any respecte of favours, but  
onely for the diversitie of meates, nei-  
ther perceaveth the concordante and  
discordant distaunces of soundes and  
tunes) these pleasures, I say, they ac-  
cept and alowe as certen pleasaunte re-  
joysinges of life. But in all thinges this  
cautel they use, that a lesse pleasure



hinder not a bigger, & that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, whiche they thinke to folow of necessitie, if the pleasure be unhoneste. But yet to dispise the comlines of bewtie, to wast the bodilie strength, to turne nimblenes into sloughishnesse, to consume and make feble the bodie with fastinge, to do injurie to health, and to rejecte the pleasure motions of nature, onles a man neglecte these commodities, whiles he dothe with a fervent zeale procure the wealth of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleasure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater pleasure at goddes hande, elles for a vaine shaddow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to punishe himselfe, or to the intente he maye be hable courragiouslie to suffer adversite: whiche perchaunce shall never come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruellye minded towardes himselfe, & unkind towardes nature, as one so disdainig to be in her daunger, that he renounceth & refuseth all her benefites.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Marke this  
well

The wealth  
& descrip-  
tion of the  
Utopians

**T**HIS is their sentence and opinion  
of vertue and pleasure. And they  
beleve that by mans reason none  
can be found trewer then this, onles any  
godlyer be inspired into man from heaven  
¶ Wherin, whether they beleve well or  
no, neither the time doth suffer us to  
discusse, neither it is nowe necessarie.  
for we have taken upon us to shewe and  
declare their laws and ordinaunces, and  
not to defende them ¶ But this thyng  
I beleve verely: howe soever these decrees  
be, that there is in no place of the world,  
neyther a more excellent people, neither  
a more flourishyng commen wealth ¶  
They be lyghte and quicke of bodie, full  
of activitie and nimblenes, and of more  
strength then a man woulde judge them  
by their stature, which for all that is not  
to lowe. And thoughe theyr soyle be not  
verie frutefull, nor their aier very whol-  
some, yet againste the ayer they so de-  
fende them with temperate diete, and so  
order and husbände their grounde with  
diligente travaile, that in no countrey is  
greater increase, & plentye of corne and  
cattell, nor mens bodies of longer lyfe,

and subject or apte to fewer diseases. There, therefore, a man maye see well and diligentlie exploited and furnished, not onely those thinges whiche husbandemen do comenly in other countreys, as by craft & cunninge to remedie the barrennes of the ground: but also a whole wood by the handes of the people plucked up by the rootes in one place, and set againe in an other place. Wherein was had regard and consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the rivers, or the cities. for it is lesse labour and businesse to carrie grayne farre by land, than wood.

**T**HE people be gentle, merie, quicke, & fynewitted, delitinge in quietnes, and when nede requireth, hable to abide & suffer much bodelie labour. Els they be not greatly desirous & fond of it: but in the exercise & studie of the mind they be never wery. When they had herd me speak of the greke literature or lerning (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly alow, besides historiens & Poetes) they made

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The utilitie  
of the greke  
tonge

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

A wonder-  
full aptnes  
to learninge  
in the Uto-  
pians

But now  
most block-  
heded asses  
be sette to  
learninge,  
and most  
pregnaunt  
wittes cor-  
rupt with  
pleasures

wonderfull earnest & importunate sute unto me that I would teach & instructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therefore to reade unto them, at the first truelie more bicause I would not seme to refuse the laboure, then that I hooped that they would anything profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaved incontinente by their diligence, that my laboure should not be bestowed in vaine. for they began so easelie to fashion their letters, so plainlie to pronounce the woordes, so quickelie to learne by hearte, and so suerlie to rehearse the same, that I marvelled at it, savinge that the most parte of them were fine and chosen wittes and of ripe age, piked oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but also by the commaundement of the counsell, undertoke to learne this language. Therefore in lesse then thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute any staye, if the booke were not false. This kynde

of learninge, as I suppose, they toke so  
much the sooner, bycause, it is sum-  
what allyaunte to them, for I thinke  
that this nation tooke their beginninge  
of the Grekes, bycause their speche,  
which in al other poyntes is not much  
unlyke the Persian tonge, kepeth dyvers  
signes and tokens of the greke langage  
in the names of their cittyes, & of their  
magistrates. They have of me (for  
when I was determyned to entre into my  
iiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe, in the  
steade of marchandise, a prety fardel of  
bookes, bycause I intended to come a-  
gaine rather never than shortly) they  
have, I saye, of me the moste parte of  
Platoes workes, more of Aristotles,  
also Theophrastus of plantes, but in  
divers places (which I am sorye for) un-  
perfecte. for whiles we were a shipborde,  
a marmoset chaunced upon the booke,  
as it was negligentely layde by, which  
wantonlye playinge therewyth plucked  
oute certeyne leaves, and toore them in  
pieces. Of them that have wrytten the  
grammer, they have onelye Lascaris. for  
Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Phisike  
hieghly  
regarded

never a dictionarye, but Hesichius, and Dioscorides. They sett greate stoor by Plutarches bookes. And they be de-lyted wyth Lucianes mery conceytes and jestes. Of the Poetes they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus small prynte. Of the Historians they have Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus, caried with him phisick boke, certein smal woorkes of Hippocrates and Galenes Microtechne. The whyche boke they have in greate estimation. for thoughe there be almost no nation under heaven that hath lesse nede of phisicke than they, yet this notwithstanding, phisicke is no where in greater honour. Bycause they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeste, and most profytable partes of philosophie. for whyles they by the helpe of this philosophie searche oute the secrete mysteres of nature, they thinke themselves to receave therby not onely wonderfull greate pleasure, but also to obtaine great thanks and favour of the autour and maker therof.


**W**HOME they thinke according to the fassion of other artificers, to have set furth the marvelous and gorgious frame of the world for man with great affeccion intentively to beholde. Whom only he hath made of witte and capacitie to considre and understand the excellencie of so great a woork. ¶ And therefore he beareth, say they, more goodwil and love to the curious and diligent beholder and vewer of his woork & marvelour at the same, then he doth to him, which like a very brute beaste without witte and reason, or as one without sense or moving, hathe no regarde to soo greate & so wonderfull a spectacle. ¶ The wittes therefore of the Utopians inured and exercised in learninge, be marvelous quicke in the invention of feates helpinge annye thinge to the advantage & wealthe of lyffe. Howebeit ii. feates they maye thanke us for. That is, the scyence of imprinting, and the crafte of makinge paper. And yet not onely us but chieffelye and principallye themselves.

The  
 seconde  
 booke of  
 Utopia

The con-  
 templacion  
 of nature

**F**OR when we shewed to them Aldus his print in bookes of paper, & told them of the stuffe wherof paper is made, & of the feate of graving letters, speaking sumwhat more then we colde plainlye declare (for there was none of us that knewe perfectlye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittely conjectured the thinge. And where as before they wrote onely in skinnes, in barkes of tryes, and in rides, nowe they have attempted to make paper and to imprint letters. And thoughe at the first yt proved not all of the beste, yet by often assayinge the same they shortelye got the feate of bothe. And have so broughte the matter aboute, that yf they had copyes of Greeke authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe they have no moore then I rehearsed before, savinge that by pryntynge of bookes they have multiplyed & increased the same into manye thousandes of copies.

**W**HOSOEVER cummethether to see the lande, beinge excellent in anye gifte of wytte,

or throughemuche and longe journienge  
wel experiensed and sene in the knowe-  
ledg of many countreies (for the whyche  
cause wee were very welcome to them)  
him they receyve & interteyne wonders  
gentilly & lovinglye. for they have delite  
to heare what is done in every lande, how-  
beit verye fewe marchaunte men come  
thether,  for what shoulde they bring  
thether, onles it were iron, or els gold and  
silver, whiche they hadde rather carrye  
home agayne? Also such thinges as are  
to be caryed oute of theire lande, they  
thinke it more wysedome to carry that  
gere furthe themselves, then that other  
shoulde come thether to fetch it, to then-  
tente they maye the better knowe the out  
landes on every syde of them, and kepe  
in ure the feate & knowledge of sailinge.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

A marvel-  
ous equitie  
of this na-  
tion

Of Bondemen, sicke persons, wedlocke,  
and diuers other matters. ✠ ✠



THEY neither make  
bondemen of pris-  
oners taken in bat-  
tayle, oneles it be  
in battaylle that  
they foughte them  
selves, nor of bond-  
mens children, nor  
to be short, of anye  
suche as they canne

gette oute of forreine countries, though  
he were there a bondman. But either  
suche as amonge themselves for hein-  
ous offences be punyshed with bond-  
age, or elles suche as in the cities of  
other landes for great trespasses be con-  
dempned to deathe. And of this sort of  
bondemen they have mooste stooore.

FOR manye of them they bringe  
home, sumtimes payinge very ly-  
tle for them, yea mooste common-  
lye gettynge them for gramercye. These  
sortes of bondemen they kepe not onely  
in continual woorke & labour, but also in  
bandes. But their oune men they handle



hardest, whom they judge more desperate, & to have deserved greater punishment, bycause they being so godlye brought up to vertue in soo excelente a common wealth, could not for all that be refrained from misdoing. ¶ An other kinde of bondemen they have, when a vile drudge, being a poore laborer in an other country, doth chuese of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. These they intreate and order honestly, and enterteine almoste as gentellye, as their owne free cytyzeins, savynge that they put them to a lyttle more labour, as thereto accustomed. Yf annye suche be disposed to departe thens, whiche seldom is seene, they neither holde him againste his wyll, neither sende him away with emptye handes.

**T**HE sycke, as I sayde, they see to with great affection, & letten nothing at al passe concerning either physycke or good diete, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases they comforte with sittinge by them, with talkinge with them, & to be shorte, with

Of them  
that be  
sicke

all maner of helpes that may be. ¶ But yf the disease be not onelye uncurable, but also full of contynuall payne & anguyshe: then the priestes and the magistrates exhort the man, seinge he is not hable to doo anye dewty of lyffe, and by overlyv-inge his owne deathe is noysome & irke- some to other, and grevous to himselfe, that he wyl determine with himselfe no longer to cheryshe that pestilent & peiner- ful disease. And seinge his lyfe is to him but a tormente, that he wyl not bee un- willinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, and either dispatche him- selfe out of that payneful lyffe, as out of a prison, or a racke of torment, or elles suffer himselfe wyllinglye to be rydde oute of it by other. ¶ And in so doinge they tell him he shall doo wysely, seing by his deathe he shall lise no commodi- ty, but ende his payne. And bycause in that acte he shall followe the counsel of the pryestes, that is to saye, of the in- terpreters of goddes wyll and pleasure, they shewe him that he shall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus persuaded, finyshe theire lives will

ynglye, either with hunger, or elles dye in their sleape without anye feelinge of deathe. But they cause none suche to dye agaynste his wyll, nor they use no lesse dilygence and attendaunce aboute him: belevinge this to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that killeth himselfe before that the pryestes & the counsel have allowed the cause of his deathe, him as unworthy either to be buryed, or with fier to be consumed, they caste unburyed into some stynkinge marrish.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

**T**HE woman is not married before she be xviii yeres olde. The man is iiij yeres elder before he marrye.

Of wed-  
locke

If either the man or the woman be proved to have actually offended before their marriage, with an other, the partye that so hath trespassed is sharplye punished. And bothe the offenders be forbidden ever after in al their lyfe to marrye: ones the faulte be forgiven by the princes pardone. But bothe the good man & the good wyfe of the house, where that offense was committed, as beinge slacke & neglygent in lookinge to their chardge, be in daunger of greate reproche and in-

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Thoughe  
not verie  
honestly,  
yet not un-  
wiselye

famye. That offense is so sharpely  
punyshed, bicause they perceave, that  
onles they be diligentllye kepte from the  
libertye of this vice, fewe wyll joyne to-  
gether in the love of marriage, wherein  
all the lyfe must be led with one, and also  
all the griefes & displeasures comming  
therewith patiently be taken and borne.

**F**URTHERMORE in chuesinge  
wyfes & husbandes they observe  
earnestly & straytelye a custome,  
whiche semed to us very fonde and fol-  
yshe. for a sad and an honest matrone  
sheweth the woman, be she mayde or wid-  
dowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyse  
a sage and discrete man exhibyteth the  
wower naked to the woman. At this cus-  
tome we laughed, & disallowed it as fool-  
ishe. But they on the other part doo  
greatlye wonder at the follye of al other  
nations, whyche in byinge a colte, where  
as a lytle money is in hasarde, be so charye  
and circumspecte, that though he be al-  
moste all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym,  
oneles the saddel and all the harneies be  
taken of, leaste under those coverynges  
be hydde som galle or soore. And yet in

chuesinge a wyfe, whyche shalbe either pleasure or displeasure to them all theire lyfe after, they be so recheles, that al the resydewe of the woomans bodye beinge covered with cloothes, they esteeme her scaselye be one handebredeth (for they can se no more but her face), and so to joyne her to them not without greate jeoperdye of evel agreinge together, yf any thing in her body afterward should chaunce to offend and myslyke them, for all men be not so wyse, as to have respecte to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowmentes of the bodye cause the vertues of the minde more to be esteemed and regarded: yea even in the mariages of wysemen. Verely so foule deformitie maye be hydde under those coveringes, that it maye quite alienate & take awaye the mans mynde from his wyfe, when it shal not be lawful for theire bodies to be separate agayne. If suche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is consummate and finyshed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Every man muste take his fortune wel a worthe. But it were wel done that a lawe



were made wherebye all suche deceytes myghte be eschewed, and advoided before hande.

**A**ND this were they constreyned more earnestlye to looke upon, because they onlye of the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente everye man with one wyfe a piece. And matrymoneie is there never broken, but by death: excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable wayewarde maners of either partye. for if either of them finde themselfe for any such cause greved: they maye by the license of the counsel chaunge and take another. But the other partie lyveth ever after in infamy, & out of wedlocke. Howebeit the husbände to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that some mys-happe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they wyll suffre. for they judge it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye body in their moste nede of helpe and comforte, shoulde be caste of and forsaken, & that oldeage, whych both bringeth sicknes with it, and is a syckenes it selfe, should unkindly & unfaythfullye

be delte withall. But nowe and then it chaunseth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betwene themselves, both of them fyndinge other, withwhome they hope to lyve more quiet-lye & merylye, that they by the full consente of them bothe be divorced a sonder and married again to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counsell, whiche agreeth to no divorces, before they and their wyfes have diligently tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then also they be lothe to consent to it, because they know this to be the next way to break love betwene man & wyfe, to be in easye hope of a new mariage. Breakers of wedlocke be punyshed with mooste grevous bondage. And if both the offenders were married, then the parties whiche in that behalfe have suffered wrong, beinge divorced from the avouters, be married together, if they wille, or els to whom they lust. But if either of them both do styl continewe in love towardes oun kinde a bedfellowe, the use of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partye faultles be disposed to followe in toylinge &

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The decern-  
ing of pun-  
ishment  
putte to the  
discretion  
of the ma-  
gistrates

drudgerie the person, which for that of-  
fence is condempned to bondage. And  
very ofte it chaunceth that the repent-  
aunce of the one, & the earnested diligence  
of the other, doth so move the prince with  
pytie & compassion, that he restoreth the  
bonde persone from servitude to libertie  
and fredom again. But if the same partie  
be taken eftsones in that faulte, there is  
no other waye but death. ¶ To other tres-  
pases no prescript punishmente is ap-  
poynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to  
the heynousenes of the offense, or con-  
trarye, so the punishmente is moder-  
ated by the discretion of the counsell.  
The husbandes chastice theire wyfes: &  
the parentes theire children, oneles they  
have done anye so horryble an offense,  
that the open punyshmente thereof  
maketh muche for the advauncement of  
honeste maners. But moste commenlye  
the moste heynous faultes be punyshed  
with the incommoditie of bondage. for  
that they suppose to be to the offenders  
no lesse grieffe, & to the common wealth  
more profit, then yf they should hastely  
put them to death, & so make them quite

out of the waye. for there cummeth more profit of their labour, then of their death, and by their example they feare other the longer from lyke offenses. But if they beinge thus used, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forsothe they beslayne as desperate and wilde beastes, whom neither prison nor chaine coulde restraine and kepe under. But they whiche take their bondage pacientlye, be not left all hopeles. for after they have bene broken & tamed with longe miseries, if then they shewe such repentaunce, as thereby it maye bee perceaved that they be soryer for their offense then for their punyshermente: sumtymes by the Prynces prerogatyve, & sumtymes by the voyce and consent of the people, their bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane released and forgiven. He that moveth to advoutreye is in no lesse daunger and jeopardy, then yf he hadde committed advoutreye in dede. for in all offenses they counte the intente & pretended purpose as evel as the acte or dede it selfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuse him, that did his beste to have no lette.

Motion to  
advoutreye  
punished



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Pleasure  
of fooles

**T**HEY have singular delite and pleasure in foles. And as it is a greater reproche to do to annye of them hurte or injury, so they prohibite not to take pleasure of foolyshnes. for that, they thinke, dothem muche good to the fooles. And if any man be so sadde, and sterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare least he would not intreate them gentilly and favorably enough: to whom they should brynge no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche lesse anye profite shoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his deformitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate dishonestye and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh; which unwysely doth imbrade anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eschewe.

**A**LSO, as they counte & reken verye little wytte to be in him that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comlinessse; so to helpe the same with paynt-



inges, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not withoute greate infamie. for they knowe even by very experience, that no comelinesse of bewtye doeth so hyghelye commende & avaunce the wives in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest conditions and lowlines. for as love is oftentimes wonne with bewty, so it is not kept, preserved, and continued, but by vertue and obedience.

**T**HEY do not onely feare their people from doying evil by punishments, but also allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therfore they set up in the markette place the ymages of notable men, and of such as have bene great and bounteful benefactors to the comen wealth, for the perpetual memorie of their good actes: & also that the glory and renowme of the auncetors maye styrrer & provoke their posteritie to vertue.

**H**E that inordinatly and ambitiously desireth promotions, is left al hopeles for ever atteining any promotion as long as he liveth. They lyve together lovinglye. for no magistrate is

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Counter-  
feite bewtie

Sinne pun-  
ished and  
vertue re-  
warded

The inordi-  
nate desire  
of honours  
condemned

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Magis-  
trates hon-  
oured

fewe lawes

The multi-  
tude of law,  
yers super-  
fluous

eyther hawte or fearfull. fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they use themselves. The citezens, as it is their dewtie, willynglye exhibite unto them dew honour without any compulsion. Nor the prince himselfe is not knowen from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diademe roial, or cap of maintenaunce, but by a litle sheffe of corne caried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before the bishop, wherby onely he is knowen.




HEY have but few lawes; for to people so instructe and institute, very fewe do suffice. ¶ Yea, this thing they chieffelye reprove among other nations, that innumerable bokes of lawes and expositions upon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and justice that men shoulde be bound to those lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder & darker, then that anye man can well understande them. ¶ furthermore they utterlie exclude & banishe all attorneis, proctours, & sergeauntes at the lawe: whiche craftelye handell mat-

ters, and subtelly dispute of the lawes. The  
for they thinke it moste meete, that seconde  
every man should pleade his own mat- booke of  
ter, & tel the same tale before the judge Utopia  
that he wold tell to his man of law  
So shal there be lesse circumstaunce of  
wordes, and the trueth shall soner come  
to light, whiles the judge with a discrete  
judgement doeth waye the woordes of  
him, whom no lawyer hath instructe with  
deceit, and whiles he helpeth and bear-  
eth out simple wittes against the false  
and malicious circumventions of craftie  
children. This is harde to be observed in  
other countreis, in so infinite a number  
of blinde & intricate lawes. But in Uto-  
pia every man is a cunning lawier. for,  
as I said, they have very few lawes: and  
the plainer and grosser that anye in-  
terpretation is, that they allowe as most  
juste. for all lawes, saie they, be made  
and publyshed onely to the intente, that  
by them every man shoulde be put in  
remembraunce of his dewtie. But the  
craftye & subtill interpretation of them  
(forasmuche as few can atteyne there-  
to) canne put verye fewe in that remem-

The intent  
of lawes

braunce, where as the simple, the plaine,  
& grosse meaninge of the lawes is open  
to everye man.

**G**ILLES as touchinge the vulgare  
sort of the people, whiche be  
bothe mooste in number, and  
have moste nede to knowe their dewties,  
were it not as good for them, that no  
law were made at all, as when it is made,  
to bringe so blynde an interpretation  
upon it, that without greate witte and  
longe arguyng no man can discusse it?  
To the fyndyng oute whereof neyther  
the grosse judgement of the people can  
attaine, neither the whole life of them  
that be occupied in woorkinge for their  
livynges, canne suffice thereto.

**T**HESSE vertues of the Utopians  
have caused their nexten neighbours  
and borderers whiche live fre and  
under no subjection (for the Utopians  
longe ago have delivered manye of them  
from tirannie) to take magistrates of  
them, some for a yeare, & some for five  
yeres space.  Which when the tyme of  
their office is expired, they bringe home  
againe with honoure and praise, & take





new againe with them into their coun-  
trei. These nations have undoubtedlye  
very well and holsomely provided for  
their common wealthes. **F**or seynge  
that bothe the makinge and marringe of  
the weale publique, doeth depende and  
hange upon the maners of the rulers &  
magistrates, what officers coulde they  
more wyselye have chosen, then those  
which can not be ledde frome honestye  
by bribes (for to them that shortly after  
shal depart thens into their own coun-  
trei, money should be unprofitable) nor  
yet be moved eyther with favoure or  
malice towardes any man, as beyng  
straungers, and unaquainted with the  
people? The whiche two vices of affec-  
tion & avarice, where they take place in  
judgementes, incontinente they breake  
justice, the strongest & suerest bonde  
of a common wealth. **T**hese peoples  
whiche fetch their officers and rulers  
from them, the Utopians cal their fel-  
lowes. And other to whome they have  
bene beneficiall, they call their frendes.

Of leagues

**A**S touching leagues, which in o-  
ther places betwene countrey &  
countrey be so ofte concluded,



broken, & renewed, they never make none with anie nation. for to what purpose serve leagues, say they? As though nature had not set sufficient love betwene man & man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chiefely, because that in those partes of the worlde, leagues betwene princes be wont to be kepte and observed very sklenderly  for here in Europa, and especiallye in these partes where the faith and religion of Christe reigneth, the majestie of leagues is everie where esteemed holy and inviolable: partlie through the justice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reverence and motion of the head Bishops. Which like as they make no promisse themselves but they do very religiouslye perfourme the same, so they exhorte all princes in any wise to abide by their promisses, & them that refuse or denye so to do, by their pontificall powre and authoritie, they compell thereto,  And surely they thinke well that it might seme a verye reprochefull thing, yf in the leagues of

them which by a peculiere name be called The  
faithful, faith should have no place. But seconde  
in that newe founde parte of the world, booke of  
which is scaseli so farre frome us be- Utopia  
yond the line equinoctiall, as our life and  
maners be dissident from theirs, no trust  
nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo  
& holier ceremonies the league is knitte  
up with, the soner it is broken by some  
cavillation founde in the wordes, which  
many times of purpose be so craftelie  
put in and placed, that the bandes can  
never be so sure nor so stronge, but they  
will find some hole open to crepe out  
at, and to breake both league and treuth

¶ The whiche craftye dealing, yea the  
whiche fraude & deceite, if they should  
know it to be practised among private  
men in their bargaines and contractes,  
they would incontinent crie out at it  
with an open mouth and a sower coun-  
tenaunce, as an offense moste detest-  
able, and worthy to be punnyshed with  
a shamefull deathe: yea even very they  
that avaunce themselves authours of  
lyke counsell geven to princes. Wherefore  
it may wel be thought, either that al jus-

tice is but a basse and a low vertue, and which availeth it self farre under the highe dignite of kynges: or at the least wise, that there be two justices, the one meete for the inferiour sorte of the people, goynge a fote and crepyng lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on every side with many bandes, bycause it shall not run at rovers. The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hygher majestie then the other pore justice, so also it is of much more libertie, as to the which nothing is unlawfull that it lusteth after.

**T**HESSE maners of princes, as I said, whiche be there so evell keepers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would chaunge their minde if they lived here. Howbeit they thinke that though leagues be never so faithfullie observed and kepte, yet the custome of makynge leagues was very evell begon. for this causeth men (as though nations which be seperat a sondre, by the space of a litle hil or a river, were coupled together

by no societie or bonde of nature) to thinke themselves borne adversaries & enemies one to an other, and that it were lawfull for the one to seke the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after the leagues be accorded, frendship doth not grow and encrease, but the license of robbing and stealing doth styll remaine, as farfurth as for lack of foresight and advisement in writing the wordes of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrarie is not therein sufficientlie comprehended. But they be of a contrarye opinion. That is, that no man oughte to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no injurye. And that the felowshippe of nature is a stronge league: and that men be better and more surely knit togethers by love and benevolence, then by covenantes of leagues: by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia



**M**ARRER or battelas  
a thing very beastly,  
and yet to no kinde of  
beastes in so much use as  
to man, they do detest  
and abhorre. And con-  
trarie to the custome  
almost of all other  
nations, they counte  
nothyng so muche  
against glorie, as glory  
gotten in warre. And  
therefore though they  
do daylie practise &  
exercise themselves  
in the discipline of  
warre, and not onlie  
the men, but also the  
women upon certen  
appointed daies, lest  
they should be to seke  
in the feate of armes,  
if nede should re-  
quire, yet they never  
go to battell, but  
either in the defence  
of their owne coun-  
trei, or to drive out of  
their frendes lande  
the enemies that have  
invaded it, or by their  
power to deliver from  
the yocke & bondage  
of tyrannye some  
people that be  
therewith oppressed.  
Which thing they  
do of meere pitie  
and compassion



Howbeit they sende helpe to their frendes, not ever in their defence, but sometymes also to requite and revenge injuries before to them done. But this they do not onlesse their counsell & advise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet newe and freshe. for if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrarie part wil not restooore agayne suche thynges as be of them justelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and invasions of soldiours praies & booties be driven awaye, but then also muche more mortally, when their frendes marchauntes in anie lande, either under the pretence of unjuste lawes, or elles by the wrestinge & wronge understandinge of good lawes, do susteine an unjust accusation under the colour of justice.

**N**EITHER the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nepheletes against the Alaopolitanes a litle before oure time, was made for any other cause, but that the Nepheloge marchant men, as the Utopians


thought, suffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, under the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with so cruel and mortal warre revenged, the countreis rounde about joyninge their helpe and powre to the puissaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moste flourishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewedly shaken, and some of them sharpely beaten, the mischeves wer not finished nor ended, until the Alaopolitanes, at the last were yelded up as bondemen into the jurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. for the Utopians fought not this war for themselves. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them.

**S**O egerlye the Utopians prosecute the injuries done to their frendes: yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewise. for if they by coveyne or gile be wiped beside their goodes, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by absteininge from occupieng with that

nation, until they have made satisfaction. Not for bicause they set lesse stoore by their owne citizeins, then by their frendes: but that they take the losse of their frendes money more hevelie then the losse of their own. Bicause that their frendes marchaunte men, forasmuche as that they leise is their own private goods, susteine great dammage by the losse. But their owne citizeyns leise nothing but of the commen goods, and of that whiche was at home plentifull and almost superfluous, els had it not bene sent furth. Therfore no man feleth the losse. And for this cause they thinke it to cruell an acte, to revenge that losse with the deathe of manie, the incommo- ditie of the which losse no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in his living. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other country be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a commen or a private counsel, knowyng & tryng out the trueth of the matter by their ambassadours, onlesse the offenders be rendered unto them in recompence of the injurie, they will not be appeased: but inconti-

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Atopia

nent they proclaime warre against them. The offenders yelded, they punishe either with death or with bondage.

**T**HEY be not only sory, but also ashamed to atchieve the victorie with bloudshed, counting it greate folie to bie precious wares to dere. They rejoyse & avaunt themselves, if they vanquishe & oppresse their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they set up a pyller of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victorie. for then they glorie, then they boaste, and cracke that they have plaied the men in deede, when they have so overcommen, as no other living creature but onely man could: that is to saye, by the mighte and puisaunce of wit.  for with bodily strength, say they, beares, lions, boores, wulfes, dogges, and other wild beastes do fight. And as the moste part of them do passe us in strength & fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpose in warre, is to obtaine

that thynge, whiche if they had before obtained, they woulde not have moved battell. But if that be not possible, they take so cruell vengeance of them whiche be in the faulte, that ever after they be aferde to do the like. ¶ This is their chiefe and principall intent, whiche they immediatlie and first of al prosecute and set forward. But yet so, that they be more circumspecte, in avoidinge and eschewing jeopardyes, then they be desierous of prayse and renowne. Therefore immediatly after that warre is ones solemnly denounced, they procure many proclamations signed with their owne common seale to be set up privily at one time in their enemies lande, in places most frequented. ¶ In these proclamations they promysse greates rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and somewhat lesse giftes, but them verye greates also, for everye heade of them, whose names be in the saide proclamations conteyned. They be those whom they count their chiefe adversaries, next unto the prince. Whatsoever is prescribed unto him that killeth any of the proclaimed



persons, that is dubbed to him that bring-  
eth anye of the same to them alive: yea, &  
to the proclaimed persones themselves,  
if they wil chaunge their mindes, & come  
into them, taking their partes, they pro-  
fer the same greate rewardes, with par-  
done, & suertie of their lives. ¶ Therefore  
it quickly commeth to passe that their  
enemies have all other men in suspicion,  
and be unfaithfull, & mistrusting among  
themselves one to another, living in great  
feare, and in no lesse jeopardie. ¶ For it is  
well knowen, that divers times the most  
part of them (& speciallie the prince him-  
selfe) hath bene betraied of them in  
whom they put their moste hope & trust.

**S**O that there is no maner of act nor  
dede that giftes and rewardes do  
not enforce men unto. And in re-  
wardes they kepe no measure. But re-  
membring & considering into how great  
hasarde and jeopardie they cal them, en-  
devoure themselves to recompence the  
greatnes of the daunger with like great  
benefites. And therefore they promise  
not only wonderful greate abundaunce of  
golde, but also landes of great revenues

lieng in most saffe places among their frendes. And their promisses they performe faythfully withoute annye fraude or covyne.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

**T**HIS custome of byinge and sellynge adversaryes among other people is dysallowed, as a cruel acte of a basse and a cowardys hemynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themselves muche prayse woorthy, as who lyke wyse men by this meanes dispatche greate warres withoute anny battell or skyrmyshe. Yea they counte it also a dede of pytye and mercye, bicause that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyves of a greate numbere of innocentes, as wel of their owne men as also of their enemies, be raunsomed and saved, which in fighting shoulde have bene sleane. For they doo no lesse pytye the basse and common sorte of their enemies people, then they doo their owne: knowing that they be driven and enforced to warre againste their willes by the furyous madnes of their princes and heades.

**N**or by none of these meanes the matter goo forward, as they woulde have it, then they procure occasy-

ons of debate, & dissention to be spredde amonge their enemies : as by bringinge the princes brother, or some of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Vp this waye prevayle not, then they reyse up the people that be nexte neyghbours and borderers to their enemies, & them they sette in their neckes under the colour of some olde tytle of ryghte, such as kynges doo never lacke. To them they promysse their helpe and ayde in their warre. And as for moneye they gyve them abundaunce. But of their owne cytyzeins they sende to them fewe or none, whome they make so much of, and love so intierlye, that they would not be willing to chaunge anye of them for their adversaries prince.

**B**UT their gold and silver, bycause they kepe it all for thys only purpose, they laye it owte frankly and frely: as who shoulde lyve even as wealthely, if they hadde bestowed it everye penny. Yea & besydes their ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei have also an infinite treasure abroad, by reason that (as I sayde before) manye nations be in their

debte. Therefore they hiere soldiours  
oute of all countreis and sende them to  
battayle, but cheifly of the Zapoletes.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

**T**HIS people is 500 myles from Uto-  
pia eastwarde. They be hideous,  
savage, & fyerce, dwellynge in wild  
woodes & high mountaines, where they  
were bredde and brought up. They be of  
an harde nature, hable to abide and sus-  
teine heate, colde, & labour, abhorrynge  
from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge  
no husbandryenor tyllage of the ground,  
homelye & rude both in buildinge of their  
houses and in their apparrel, geuen unto  
no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge  
and bringyng up of cattel. The mooste  
parte of their lyvinge is by huntynge &  
stealyng. They be borne onelye to warre,  
whyche they diligentely and earnestelye  
seke for. And when they have gotten it,  
they be wonders glad thereof. They goo  
furthe of their countreye in greate com-  
panyes together, & who soever lackethe  
souldyours, there they proffer their ser-  
vice for small wages. This is onelye the  
crafte that they have to gette their liv-  
yng by. They maynteyne their lyfe, by





sekinge their deathe. for them whome-  
wyth they be in wayges they fyghte hard/  
elye, fyerslye, & faythefullye. But they  
bynde themselves for no certeyne tyme.  
But upon this condition they entre into  
bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take  
parte with the other syde for greater  
wayges, & the nexte daye after that, they  
wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a  
lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres  
thereawaye, wherein is not a greate num-  
bre of them in bothe partyes.

**T**HEREFORE it dayelye chaunc/  
eth that nye kynsefolke whyche  
were hiered together on one parte,  
and there verye frendelye and familiar-  
lye used themselves one wyth another,  
shortely after beinge separate in con-  
trarye partes, runne one againste anothe-  
r envyouslye and fyercelye: and forget-  
tinge bothe kindred and frendeshyppe,  
thruste their swordes one in another.  
And that for none other cause, but that  
they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a  
lytle moneye. Whyche they doo so hygh-  
lye regarde & esteame, that they will ease-  
lye be provoked to chaunge partes for a



halfe peny more wayges by the daye. So quykelye they have taken a smacke in covetesenes. Whyche for all that is to them no proffyte. for that they gette by fyghtyng, immediatlye they spende unthryftelye & wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynste all nations, bycause they geve them greater wayges, then annye other nation wyll. for the Utopians lyke as they seke good men to use wel, so they seke these evell and vicious men to abuse. Whome, when neade requirethe, with promisses of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great jeopardies. from whens the mooste parte of them never cummeth againe to aske their rewardes. But to them that remaine alive they paye that which they promissed faithfully, that they maye be the more willinge to put themselves in like daunger another time. Nor the Utopians passe not how many of them they bring to destruction. for they beleve that they should doo a verye good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of the worlde all that fowle stinking denne of that most wicked and cursed people.

**N**EXT unto thies they use the soldir  
ours of them for whom they fighte.  
And then the helpe of their other  
frendes. And laste of all, they joyne to  
theire oune citizens. Emong whome they  
give to one of tried vertue and prowes the  
reule, goouernaunce, & conduction of the  
whole armye. Under him they appoynte  
ij. other, whyche, whyles he is sauffe, be  
bothe priuate and oute of offyce. But yf  
he be taken or slayne, the one of the oth-  
er ij. succedeth hym, as it were by inheri-  
taunce. And if the seconde miscarrye,  
then the thirde taketh his rowme, leaste  
that (as the chaunce of battell is uncer-  
teine & doubtful) the jeopardye or deathe  
of the capitaine shoulde brynge the whole  
armye in hasarde.  They chuese soldy-  
ours out of every citey, those whych putte  
furthe themselfes wyllingelye  for  
they thruste no man forthe into warre a-  
gaynste his wyll. Bycause they beleve,  
yf anny man be fearefull & fainte harted  
of nature, he wyll not onelye doo no man-  
full and hardy acte hym selfe, but also be  
occasyon of cowardenes to his fellowes.

**B**UT if annye battell be made a-  
gaynste theire owne countreye,  
then they putt these cowardes (so  
that they be stronge bodyed) in shyppes  
amonge other bolde harted men. Or elles  
they dyspose them upon the walles, from  
whens they maye not flye. Thus, what for  
shame that theire enemies be at hande,  
& what for bycause they be without hope  
of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere.  
And manye times extreame necessitye  
turnethe cowardnes into prowes & man-  
lynes.

**B**UT as none of them is thrust forthe  
of his countrey into warre againste  
his wyll, so women that be wyllynge  
to accompany theire husbandes in times  
of warre be not prohibited or letted. Yea  
they provoke and exhorter them to it with  
prayses. And in set fylde the wyves doo  
stande everye one by theire owne hus-  
bandes syde. Also every man is compas-  
sed next aboute with his owne children,  
kinsfolkes, & aliaunce. That they, whom  
nature chiefly moveth to mutual suc-  
coure, thus standynge together, maye  
healpe one another. It is a great reproche,

and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wiffe, or the wyffe without her husbande, or the sonne without his father. And therfore if the other part sticke so harde by it, that the battell come to their handes, it is fought with great slaughter & blodshed, even to the utter destruction of both partes. for as they make all the meanes & shyftes that maye be to kepe themselves from the necessitye of fyghtinge, or that they may dispatche the battell by their hiered soldiers: so when there is no remedy, but that they muste needs fight themselves, then they do as corragiouslye fall to it as before, whyles they myght, they did wyselye avoyde & refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first bront. But in continuaunce by litle & lytle theire fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne & obstynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyve back an ynche.

**F**OR that suertye of lyvinge, whiche everye man hath at home, beinge joyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how theire posteritie shall lyve after them (for this pensifnes

oftentymes breakethe & abateth courageous stomakes) maketh them stowte and hardye, and disdaineful to be conquered. Moreover their knowledge in cheualrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope.

**F**INALLY the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherein they were brought up even from their childehode, partely through learnynge, and partelye throughe the good ordinaunces and lawes of their weale publique, augmented and encrease their manfull courage. By reason whereof, they neither set so litle store by their lives that they will rasshelye and unadvisedlye caste them away: nor they be not so farre in lewde & fond love therewith, that they will shamefullye covete to kepe them, when honestie biddeth leave them.

**W**HEN the battel is hottest and in al places most fierce and fervent, a bende of chosen & picked yong men, whiche be sworne to live & dye togethers, take upon them to destroye their adversaries capitaine. Whome they invade, now with privy wiesles, now by

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The capitane is chieflie to be pursued to thintente the battell maye the soner be ended



open strength. At him they strike both nere and farre of. He is assayled with a long and a continuall assaulte, freshe men styll commynge in the weried mens places. And seldome it chaunceth (onles he save hymselfe by flyng) that he is not either slayne, or els taken prisoner, and yelded to his enemies alive.

**I**f they wyne the fyelde, they persecute not their enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. for they had rather take them alive, then kyl them. Neither they do so follow the chase and pursute of their enemies, but they leave behinde them one parte of their hoste in battaile arraye under their standardes. In so much that if al their whole armie be discumfeted and overcum, saving the rerewarde, and that they therewith achieve the victory, then they had rather lette al their enemies scape, then to followe them out of array. for they remembre, it hath chaunced unto themselves more then ones: the whole powre and strength of their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies rejoysing in the victory have persecuted

them flying some one way and some another, a small companye of their men lying in an ambushe, there redy at all occasions, have sodainely rysen upon them thus dispersed and scattered oute of arraye, and through presumption of safety unadvisedly pursuing the chase: & have incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll: and spite of their tethes, wrestinge oute of their handes the sure and undoubted victorie, being a litle before conquered, have for their parte conquered the conquerers.

**I**T is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in avoydinge the same. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrarye wyse, when they go about that purpose, you wold beleve it were the leaste parte of their thought. for if they perceave themselves either overmatched in numbre, or closed in too narrowe a place, then they remove their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some pollicie they deceave their enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe so softely, that it

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

is no lesse jeopardie to medle with them when they geve backe, then when they preesse on. ¶ They fence and fortifie their campe sewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is cast inward. ¶ Nor they do not set drudgeis & slaves a worke about it. It is doone by the handes of the souldiours them selves. All the whole armye worketh upon it: excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harnes before the trenche for sodeine adventures. Therefore, by the labour of so manye, a large trenche closinge in a greate compasse of grounde, is made in lesse tyme then anye man woulde beleve.

Their  
armour

**T**HEIR Armour or harnes, whiche they weare, is sure and strong to receave strokes, and handsome for all movinges and gestures of the bodye, insomuche that it is not unweldye to swymme in. for in the discipline of their warefare, amonge other feates thei learne to swimme in harnes. ¶ Their weapons be arrowes aloufe: whyche they shote both strongely and surely, not onelye fotemen, but also horsemen. ¶ At hande strokes they use not swordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, as wel in sharpe-

nes, as in weyghte, bothe for foynes and downestrokes. Engines forwarre they devyse&invent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made, they kepe verye secrete, leaste yf they shoulde be knowne before neade requyre, they should be but laughed at & serve to no purpose. But in makynge them, hereunto they have chiefe respecte, that they be both easy to be caried, and handsome to be moved and turned about.

**T**RUCE taken with their enemies forashorte time they do so firme-lye and faythfullye keape, that they wyll not breake it: no not though they be thereunto provoked.

**T**HEY doe not waste nor destroy their enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not up their corne. Yea, they save it as muche as may be from being overrunne & troden downe either with men or horses, thinkinge that it growethe for their owne use and profit. They hurt no man that is unarmed, onles he be an espiall. All cities that be yelded unto them, they defende. And suche as they wyne by force of assaulte,

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Of truces



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstode and dyssuaded the yeldyng up of the same, they put to deathe, the others souldiours they punnyshew with bondage. All the weake multitude they leave untouched. If they knowe that anye cytezeins counselled to yealde and rendre up the citie, to them they gyve parte of the condemned mens goods. The resydewe they distribute and give frelye amonge them whose helpe they had in the same warre. for none of them selves taketh anye portion of the praye. But when the battaile is finished & ended, they put their frendes to never a penny coste of al the charges that they were at, but laye it upon their neckes that be conquered. Them they burdeine with the whole charge of their expenseis, whiche they demaunde of them partelye in monie to be kept for like use of battayll, & partelye in landes of greate revenues to be payde unto them yearelye for ever. Suche revenues they have now in manye countreis. Whiche by litle & litle rysinge of dyvers and sondry causes be increased above vij. hundreth thousand ducates by the yere.



**W**HETHER they sende forth some  
of their citezeins as lieutenantes,  
to live there sumptuously like men  
of honoure & renowne. And yet this not  
withstandinge muche moneye is saved,  
which commeth to the commen treasury:  
onles it so chaunce, that they had rather  
trust the countrey with the money. Which  
many times they do so long until they  
have nede to occupie it. And it seldome  
happeneth that thei demaund al. Of these  
landes they assigne part unto them,  
which at their request and exhortacion  
put themselves in such jeoparddies as I  
spake of before. If anye prince stirre up  
warre agaynste them, intending to invade  
theire lande, they mete hym incontinent  
oute of theire owne borders with greate  
powre & strengthe. for they never lyghte-  
ly make warre in their owne countrei. Nor  
they be never brought into so extreme  
necessities as to take helpe out of forreyne  
landes into their owne Ilande.



HERE be diuers  
kindes of religion  
not only in sond-  
rie partes of the  
Ilande, but also in  
diuers places of  
every citie. Some  
worship for God  
the sonne: some,  
the mone: some,  
some other of the planettes. There be  
that give worship to a man that was ones  
of excellent vertue or of famous glory,  
not only as God, but also as the chiefest  
and hyghest God. But the moste & the  
wysest parte (rejectynge al these) beleve,  
that there is a certayne godlie powre  
unknownen, everlastinge, incomprehen-  
sible, inexplicable, farre above the capa-  
citie and retche of mans witte, dispersed  
throughoute all the worlde, not in big-  
nes, but in vertue and power. Him they  
call the father of al. To him alone they  
attribute the beginninges, the encreas-  
inges, the procedinges, the chaunges,  
and the endes of all thinges. Neither they

geve any diuine honours to any other then to him. Yea al the other also, though they be in diuers opinions, yet in this pointe they agree all togethers with the wisest sorte, in beleving that there is one chiefe and principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole worlde: whome they all commonlye in their countrey language call Mythra. But in this they disagree, that among some he is counted one, and amonge some an other for every one of them, whatsoever that is whiche he taketh for the chief god, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whose only diuine mighte & majestie, the summe and soveraintie of al thinges by the consent of al people is attributed and geuen.

**N**O WBEIT they all begyn, by litle and litle, to forsake and fall from this varietie of superstitions, & to agre togethers in that religion whiche semethe by reason to passe & excell the residewe. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoo have bene abolished, but that whatsoever unprosperous thynge happened to anie of

them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thinge comminge by chaunce, but as sente from God out of heaven. ¶ As thoughe the God, whose honoure he was forsakyng, would revenge that wicked purpose against him.

**B**UT after they hearde us speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of the no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wylinglye shedde broughte a great numbred of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their sect: you will not beleve with howe gladde mindes they agreed unto the same: whether it were by the secrete inspiration of God, or elles for that they thought it nieghest unto that opinion which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no smale helpe & furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde us say, that Christe instituted among his, all thinges comen: & that the same communitie doth yet remaine amongst the rightest Christian companies.

**V**ERELY howsoever, it came to passe many of them consented together in our religion, & were wasshed in the holy water of baptisme

But because among us foure (for no mo of us was left a live, two of our company beyng dead) there was no priest, which I am right sorie for: they beyng entered & instructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke onely those sacramentes, whiche here none but priestes dominister. Howbeit they understand and perceiue them, and be very desierous of the same. Yea, they reason and dispute the matter earnestly among themselves, whether without the sending of a christian bishop, one chosen out of their own people may receave the ordre of priesthod. And truely they were minded to chuese one. But at my departure from them they had chosen none.

**T**HEY also which do not agree to Christes religion, feare no man from it, nor speake against any man that hath received it. Saving that one of our company in my presence was sharpely punished. He, as soone as he



was baptised, began against our willes, with more earnest affection then wisdom, to reason of Christes religion: & began to waxe so hote in his matter, that he did not onelye preferre our religion before al other, but also did utterly despise and condempne all other, calling them prophane, & the folowers of them wicked and develish, and the children of everlastinge dampnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accused him, and condempned him into exile, not as a despiser of religion, but as a sedicious person, & a raiser up of dissention amonge the people. for this is one of the ancientest lawes amonge them: that no man shall be blamed for resoninge in the maintenaunce of his owne religion.

**F**OR kyng Utopus, even at the firste beginning, hearing that the inhabitauntes of the land wer before his coming thether, at continuall dissention & strife amonge themselves for their religions: perceyving also that this common dissention (whiles every severall secte tooke several partes in

fighting for their countrey) was the only The  
occasion of his conquest over them al, seconde  
assone as he had gotten the victory: booke of  
firste of all he made a decree, that it Utopia  
should be lawfull for everie man to fa-  
voure and folow what religion he would,  
and that he mighte do the best he could  
to bring other to his opinion, so that he  
did it peaceablie, gentelie, quietly, and  
soberlie, without hastie and contentions  
rebuking & invehing against other. If  
he could not by faire and gentle speche  
induce them unto his opinion yet he  
should use no kinde of violence, and re-  
fraine from displeasaunte and seditious  
woordes. To him that would vehement-  
ly and fervently in this cause strive and  
contende, was decreed banishment or  
bondage.

Seditious  
reasoners  
punished

**T**HIS lawe did kynge Utopus make  
not only for the maintenaunce of  
peace, which he saw through con-  
tinuall contention and mortal hatred ut-  
terly extinguished: but also because he  
thought this decree should make for the  
furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he  
durst define and determine nothing un-

advisedlie, as douting whether god, desiering manifelde and diuerse sortes of honour, would inspire sondry men with sondrie kindes of religion. ¶ And this suerly he thought a very unmete and folish thing, & a point of arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence and threateninges to agre to the same that thou belevest to be trew. ¶ furthermore thoughe there be one religion, whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and superstitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that the matter were handled with reason, & sober modestie) that the trueth of the own powre would at the last issue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe should continuallye be used, as the woorste men be mooste obstinate aud stubbourne, & in their evyll opinion mooste constante: he perceaved that then the beste & holiest religion woulde be troden underfote and destroyed by most vaine supersticions, even as good corne is by thornes and weedes overgrown and chooked. Therfore all this matter he lefte undiscussed and gave to

everye man free libertie and choise to beleve what he woulde. Saviage that he earnestelye and straitelye charged them, that no man shoulde conceive so vile and baase an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the soules do die and perishe with the bodye: or that the world runneth at al adventures, governed by no divine providence.

**A**ND therefore thei beleve that after this life vices be extreamelye punished & vertues bountifully rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they countenot in the numbere of men, as one that hath availed the heighe nature of hys soule to the vielnes of brute beastes bodies: muche lesse in the numbere of their citizeins, whose lawes and ordenaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al esteeme. ¶ For you maye be suer that he will studie either with craft prively to mocke, or els violently to breake the commen lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the bodye. ¶ Wherefore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honours, ex-

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

No vile opinion to be  
conceived  
of mans  
worthy nature

Irreligious  
people se-  
cluded from  
all honours



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

A very  
straung  
sayinge

Deceit and  
falshod  
detested

cluded from all offices, and reiecte from all common administrations in the weale publique. And thus he is of all sortes despised, as of an unprofitable, & of a base & vilenature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be persuaded, that it is in no mans power to beleve what he list. No, nor they constraine hym not with threatninges to dissemble his minde, and shew countenance contrarie to his thought. for deceit and falshod & all maners of lies, as next unto fraude, they do mervelouslie deteste & abhorre. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, & that onelye amonge the comen people. for els aparte amonge the priestes and men of gravitie, they do not onelye suffer, but also exhorte him to dispute and argue: hoping that at the last, that madnes will geve place to reason.

**T**HERE be also other, and of them no small numbre, which be not forbidden to speake theyr mindes, as grounding their opinion upon some reason, beyng in their living neither evell nor vicious. Their heresie is much contrarie to the other. for they beleve that the soules



of brute beastes be immortall & everlast-  
ing. But nothyng to be compared with  
oures in dignitie, neither ordeined & pre-  
destinate to like felicitie. for al they be-  
leve certainly & sewerly that mans blesse  
shal be so great, that they do mourne &  
lament every mans sicknes, but no mans  
death, oneles it be one whome they see  
depart from his life carefullie, & agaynst  
his will. for this they take for a verye evel  
token, as though the soule beyng in dis-  
spaire, and vexed in conscience, through  
some privie and secret forefeiling of the  
punishment now at hande, were aferde to  
depart. And they thinke he shall not be  
welcome to God, which when he is called,  
runneth not to him gladlye, but is draw-  
en by force & sore against his will. They  
therfore that see this kinde of deathe, do  
abhorre it, & them that so die, they burie  
with sorow and silence. And when they  
have praied God to be mercifull to the  
soule, and mercifully to pardon the infir-  
mities therof, they cover the dead coorse  
with earth. Contrariewise all that departe  
merely and ful of good hope, for them no  
man mourneth, but followeth the heerse

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

A marvelous  
straunge  
opinion  
touching  
the soules  
of brute  
beastes

To die un-  
willyngly an  
evel token

A willing  
and a merye  
deathe not  
to be lamen-  
ted

with joyfull synging, commending the soules to God with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reverence, they bourn the bodies. ¶ And in the same place they sette up a pillar of stone, with the dead mans titles therin graved. When they be come home they reherse his vertuous manners and his good dedes. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of, as his meri deth. ¶ They thinke that this remembraunce of the vertue and goodnes of the dead, doeth vehemently provoke & enforce the living to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleasaunt & acceptable to the deade; whom they suppose to be present among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull & feble eiesight of mortall men they be invisible.

**F**OR it were an unconuenient thinge, that the blessed shoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greате unkindnes in them to have utterly cast away the desire of visitinge & seing their frendes, to whome they were in their life time joyned by mutuall love and amitie.

Whiche in good men, after their deathe, they counte to be rather increased then diminished.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

**T**HEY beleve therefore that the deade be presentlye conversant amonge the quicke, as beholders and witnesses of all their wordes & deedes. Therefore they go more corragiously to their busines as having a trust and affiaunce in such overseers. And this same belefe of the present conversation of their forefathers & auncetours among them, feareth them from all secrete dishonestie.

**T**HEY utterly despise and mocke sothsayinges and divinations of thinges to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, and all other divinations of vaine superstition, whiche in other countreis be in greate observation. But they highlye esteeme and worshyppe miracles that come by no healpe of nature, as woorkes & witnesses of the presente power of God. And suche they saye do chaunce there verye often. And sometimes in great and doubtfull matters, by commen intercession & prayers, they procure & obtaine them with a sure hope and confidence, and a stedfast belefe.

Sothsayers  
not regard-  
ed or credit-  
ed

Miracles

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

The life con-  
templative

The life  
active

**T**HEY thinke that the contemplation of nature, and the prayse thereof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honoure. Yet there be many so earnestly bent and affectioned to religion, that they passe no thing for lerning, nor geve their mindes to any knowledge of thinges. But ydelnes they utterly forsake and eschue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten & obtained by busie labors & good exercises. Some therefore of them attende upon the sicke, some amende high waies, clense ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, gravell, & stones, fel & cleave wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, & serve not onely in commen woorkes, but also in private laboures as servauntes, yea, more then bondmen, for what so ever unpleasaunt, harde, and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothsomnes, and desperation doth fray other, al that they take upon them willingly & gladly, procuring quiete & rest to other, remaininge in continual woorke & labour themselves, not embraidinge others therewith. They neither reprove other mens lives, nor glorie in their owne.



**T**HESSE men, the more serviceable they behave themselves, the more they be honoured of all men.

Yet they be divided into two sectes. The one is of them that live single and chaste, abstaining not onely from the companie of women, but also from eating of fleshe, & some of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche, utterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholye set upon the desier of the lyfe to come, by watchynge, and sweatynge, hooping shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane season merie & lustie. The other secte is no lesse desirous of labour, but they embrace matrimonye, not despising the solace therof, thinking that they can not be discharged of their bounden duties towards nature, without labour and toyle, nor towards their native countrey without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doeth nothing hinder them from labour. They love the flesh of foure footed beastes, because they beleve that by that meate they be made hardier and stronger to worke.



The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

It is not all  
one to be  
wise and  
good

Priestes

**T**HE Utopians counte this secte the wiser, but the other the holier. Which in that they preferre single life before matrimony, and that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded upon reason they would mock them. But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honor and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they cal Buthrescas, the which woord by interpretation signifieth to us, men of religion or religious men.

**T**HEY have priestes of exceding holines, and therefore very few. for there be but xiiij. in every citie, accordinge to the number of their churches, savyng when they go furthe to battell. for than viij. of them goo furth with the armie: in whose steades so manie newe be made at home. But the other at their retourne home again reentre every one into his owne place, they that be above the numbre (untill suche time as they succede into the places of the other at their dyinge) be in the meane season continuallye in companie with the bishoppe. for

he is the chiefe head of them al. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be, by secrete voices, for the avoydinge of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own companie. They be overseers of al divine matters, orderers of religions, and as it wer judges and maisters of maners. And it is a great dishonestie and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incontinent living.

**B**UT as it is their office to geve good exhortations and counsel, so is it the dutie of the prince and the other magistrates to correct & punish the offenders, saving that the priestes, whome they finde exceding vicious livers, them they excommunicate from having any interest in divine matters. And there is almost no punishment amonge them more feared. for they runne in verie great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a secret feare of religion, and shall not long scape free with their bodies. for unless they by quick repentaunce approve the amendement of their lives to the priestes, they be taken and punished of the counsel, as wicked and irreligious.

Excommu-  
nication

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

**B**OTH childhode and youth is instructed & taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to instructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. for they use with verie great endeavour and diligence to put into the heades of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conservation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them all their life after, & be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenance of the state of the commenwelth. Which neuer decaieth but throughe vices risinge of evill opinions.

Women  
priestes

**T**HE priestes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from priesthoode, howbeit fewe be chosen, and none but widdowes and old women) the men priestes, I saye, take to their wives the chiefest women in all their countreye. for to no office among the Utopians is more honour and preeminence geven. In so much that if they commit any offence, they be under no commen judgement, but be left only to God and

The majes-  
tie and pre-  
eminence of  
priestes

themselves. for thei thinke it not lawfull The  
 to touch him with mannes hande, be he seconde  
 neuer so vitious, whiche after so singular booke of  
 a sort was dedicate & consecrate to god Utopia  
 as a holly offering. This maner may they  
 easely observe, bicause they have so  
 fewe priestes, and do chuse them with  
 such circumspection. for it scasey ever  
 chaunceth, that the moste vertuous a-  
 monge vertuous, which in respect only of  
 his vertue is avauced to so high a dig-  
 nity, can fal to vice and wickednes. And  
 if it should chaunce in dede (as mans na-  
 ture is mutable and fraile) yet by reason  
 they be so fewe, & promoted to no might  
 nor powre, but only to honoure, it were  
 not to be feared that anye great dam-  
 mage by them should happen and ensue  
 to the commen wealthe.

**T**HEY have so rare & fewe priestes,  
 least if the honour were commu-  
 nicated to many, the digniti of the  
 ordre, which among them now is so high-  
 ly esteemed, should runne in contempt.  
 Speciallye bicause they thinke it hard to  
 find many so good, as to be meet for that  
 dignity, to the execution and discharge



whereof it is not sufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. *¶* Furthermore these priestes be not more esteemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of forrein & straunge countreis. Which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thinke also that this is the cause of it. for whiles the armies be fighting together in open feld, they, a litle beside, not farre of, knele upon their knees in their hallowed vestimentes, holding up their handes to heaven: praing first of all for peace, nexte for vycctory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy vycctory. If their host gette the upper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle, & restrayne their owne men from sleying & cruelly pursuinge theire vanquyshed enemies. Whiche enemyes, yf they doo but see them and speake to them, it is ynoughe for the savegarde of theire lyves. And the touching of theire clothes defendeth & saveth al their gooddes from ravine and spoyle. This thinge hathe avaunced them to so greate wourship & trewe majesty among al nations, that manye times they have as wel preserved theire own citizens from



the cruel force of their enemies, as they have their enemies from the furious rage of their owne men. for it is well known, that when their owne army hath reculed, & in dyspayre turned backe and runne away, their enemies fyerslye pursuing with slaughter & spoyle, then the priestes cumming betwene have stayed the murder, & parted bothe the hostes. So that peace hath bene made & concluded betwene bothe partes upon equall and indifferent conditions. for there was never any nation, so fierce, so cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in such reverence, that they counted their bodies halowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violently & unreverently touched.

**T**HEY kepe hollye the firste & the laste daye of everye moneth and yeare, divydinge the yeare into monethes, whyche they measure by the course of the moone, as they doo the yeare by the course of the sonne. The fyrste dayes they call in their language Cynemernes, & the laste Trapemernes, the whyche woordes may be interpreted, primifeste & finifest, or els in our speache,

The  
seconde  
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Utopians

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

Their  
churches

Churches  
of dimme  
light and a  
reason why

first feaste & last feast. Their churches be verye gorgious, & not onelye of fine & curious workemanship, but also (which in the fewenes of them was necessary) very wide and large, and hable to receave a great company of people. But they be al sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignoraunce in buildinge, but as they say, by the counsel of the priestes. Bicause they thought that over much light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte they be gathered together, & more earnestly fixed upon religion and devotion: which bicause it is not there of one sort among all men, & yet all the kindes and fassions of it, thoughe they be sondry and manifold, agre together in the honour of the divine nature, as goyng divers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is sene nor heard in the churches, but that semeth to agre indefferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to anye several secte, that they execute at home in their owne houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor

prejudice to anye of the private sacrifices & religions. Therefore no ymage of anye god is seene in the churche, to the intent it maye bee free for every man to conceive God by their religion after what likenes & similitude they will. They call upon no peculiar name of God, but only Mithra, in the which word they all agree together in one nature of the divine majesti, whatsoever it be. No prayers bee used but suche as every man maye boldly pronounce withoute the offendinge of anny secte.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

**T**HEY come therfore to the churche the laste day of everye moneth & yeare in the evenynge yet fastinge, there to gyve thanks to God for that they have prosperouslye passed over the yeare or moneth, wherof that hollye daye is the laste daye. Thenext daye they come to the church earlye in the mornynge, to praye to God that they maye have good fortune and successe all the newe yeare or moneth whych they doo begynne of that same hollye daye.

**A**T in the holly dayes that be the laste dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the

The confes-  
sion of the  
Utopians


The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

churche, the wives fall downe prostrat before theire husbandes feet at home, & the children before the feete of their parentes, confessinge and acknowleginge themselves offenders, either by some actuell dede, or by omission of their deuty, and desire pardon for their offense. Thus yf anye cloude of privy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is overblowen, that they may be presente at the sacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. for they be aferd to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they knowe themselves to beare anye hatred or grudge towards anye man, they presume not to come to the sacrifices, before they have reconciled themselves and purged theire consciences, for feare of greate vengeance & punyschement for their offense.


An order for  
places in the  
Churche

**W**HEN they come thether, the men goo into the ryghte syde of the churche, & the women into the lefte syde. There they place themselves in suche ordre, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in every houshold sitte before the goodman of the house,



and they of the female kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forsene that all their gestures & behaviours be marked and observed abrode of them by whose authority and discipline they be governed at home.  This also they diligently see unto, that the younger evermore be coupled with his elder, lest children beinge joyned together, they should passe over that time in childish wantonnes, wherein they ought principally to conceave a religious and devoute feare towards God: which is the chieffe and almost the only incitation to vertu.


The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

 HEY kill no living beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencye of God hath delite in bloude and slaughter, which hath geven liffe to beastes to the intent they should live. They burne franckensence, and other sweet savours, & light also a greate numbre of waxe candelles & tapers, not supposinge this geare to be any thing avaylable to the divine nature, as neither the prayers of men. But this unhurtful and harmeles kind of worship pleaseth them. And by thies sweet savoures and

Ceremonies



lightes, and other such ceremonies men feele themselves secretlye lifted up and encouraged to devotion with more willynge and fervent hartes.

**T**HE people weareth in the church white apparell. The priest is clothed in chaungeable colours. Whiche in workemanshipe bee excellent, but in stuffenot verye pretious. for their vestimentes be neither embraudered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely & conningelye with divers fethers of foules, that the estimation of no costely stuffe is hable to countervaile the price of the worke.  furthermore in these birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is observed in their setting, they saye is conteyned certaine diuine misteries. The interpretation wherof known, whiche is diligently taught by the priestes, they be put in remembrance of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them: and of the love & honoure whiche of their behalfe is dewe to God: and also of their duties one towarde another.

**W**HEN the priest first commeth out of the vestry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent everye one reverentlye to the ground, with so still silence on everye part, that the very fassion of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally presente. When they have lien a litle space on the ground, the priest gevethe them a signe for to ryse.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

**W**HEN they sing prayes unto God, whiche they intermixe with instrumentes of musicke, for the moste parte of other fassions then these that we use in this parte of the worlde. And like as some of ours bee muche sweter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe ours.

Theire  
church  
musike

**B**UT in one thinge doubtles they goo exceding farre beyonde us. for all their musike, bothe that they playe upon instrumentes and that they singe with mannes voyce, dothe so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound and tune is so applied and made agreable to the thinge, that

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger; the fassion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye move, stirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes.

Prayers

**A**T the laste the people & the priest together rehearse solempne prayers in woordes, expreslye pronounced so made that every man maye privatelye applye to hymselfe that which is commonlye spoken of all. In these prayers, everye man recognisethe and knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys governoure, and the principal cause of all other goodnes, thankynge him for so many benefites receaved at his hande. But namelye that through the favoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, which is moste happye and welthye, and hathe chosen that religion whyche he hopeth to be moste true. In the whyche thinge if he doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any other better then eyther of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desierethe him that he wyl

of his goodnes let him have knowledge thereof, as one that is ready too followe what way soever he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and fassion of a commen wealthe bee beste, & his owne relygion most true and perfecte, then he desyr- ethe God to gyve hym a constaunte stedefastnes in the same, & too brynge all other people to the same ordre of lyvyng, & to the same opinion of God, onles there bee annye thinge that in this diversitey of religions dothe delite his unsercheable pleasure. To be shorte, he prayeth hym, that after his deathe he maye come to hym. But how soone or late, that he dare not assygne or deter- mine. Howebeit, if it myght stande with his majesties pleasure, he woulde be muche gladder to dye a paynefull deathe and so to goo to God, then by longe lyving in worldlye prosperitey to bee a- waye from him. When this prayer is said, they fal doune to the ground again, and a lytle after they ryse up and go to din- ner. And the resydewe of the daye they passe over in playes, and exercise of chevalrye.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

**N**OWE I have declared & described  
unto you, as truely as I coulde,  
the fourme & ordre of that com-  
men wealth, which verely in my judgment  
is not only the beste, but also that which  
alone of good right maye claime and take  
upon it the name of a commen wealth or  
publique weale. for in other places they  
speake stil of the commen wealth. But  
every man procureth his owne private  
gaine. Here, where nothinge is private, the  
commen affaires bee earnestlye looked up-  
on. And truely on both partes they have  
good cause so to do as they do.

**F**OR in other countreys who know-  
eth not that he shall sterve for  
honger, onles he make some sev-  
erall provision for himselfe, though the  
commen wealth floryshe never so muche  
in ryches? And therefore he is compelled  
even of verye necessitie to have regarde  
to him selfe, rather then to the people,  
that is to saye, to other. ¶ Contrary wyse,  
there, where all thinges be commen to  
every man, it is not to be doubted that  
any man shall lacke anye thinge necessary  
for his private uses: so that the commen



store houses and barnes be sufficientlye stored. for therenothinge is distributed after a nyggyshe sorte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And though no man have anye thinge, yet everye man is ryche.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

**F**OR what can be more riche, then to lyve joyfully and merely, without al grieve & pensifenes: Not caring for his owne lyving, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complainytes, nor dreadynge povertie to his sonne, nor sorrowyng for his doughters dowrey? Yea, they take no care at all for the lyvyng & wealthe of themselves and al theirs, of their wyfes, their chyldren, their nephewes, their childrens chyldren, and all the succession that ever shall followe in their posteritie. And yet besydes this, there is no lesse provision for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe laboure and take payne.

**N**ERE nowe woulde I see, yf anye man dare bee so bolde as to compare with this equitytie, the justice of other nations. Among whom, I for-

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

sake God, if I can fynde any signe or token of equitie and justice. for what justice is this, that a ryche golde Smythe, or an usurer, or to bee shorte, anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is such, that it is not very necessary to the commonwealth, should have a pleasaunte and a welthie lyvinge, either by idlenes, or by unnecessarye busines: when in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yron Smythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by so greate and continual toyle, as drawing and bearing beasts be skant hable to susteine, and agayne, so necessary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endure one yere, should yet get so harde and poore a lyving, and lyve so wretched & miserable a lyfe, that the state and condition of the labouringe beasts maye seme muche better & welthier? for they be not put to soo continuall laboure, nor their lyvinge is not muche worse, yea to them muche pleasanter, takynge no thought in the meane season for the tyme to come. But these seilye poore wretches be presently tormented

with barreyne & unfrutefull labour. And the remembraunce of their poore indigent & beggerlye olde age kylleth them up. for their dayly wages is solytle, that it will not suffice for the same daye, muche lesse it yeldeth any overplus, that may daylye be layde up for the relyefe of olde age.

**I**S not this an unjust & an unkynde publyque weale, whiche gyveth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, & to goldsmithes, and to suche other, whiche be either ydle persones, or els onely flatterers, and devysers of vayne pleasures, and of the contrary parte maketh no gentle provision for poore plowmen, colliers, laborers, carters, yronsmithes, & carpenters: without whome no comen wealth can continewe? But after it hath abused the labours of their lusty and flowring age, at the last when they be oppressed with olde age & syckenes: being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, then forgettyng their so manye paynefull watchinges, not remembring their so manye and so greate benefites, recompenseth

& acquyteth them moste unkyndly with myserable death.

**A**ND yet besides this, the riche men not only by private fraud, but also by commen lawes do every day pluck and snatche awaye from the poore some parte of their daily living. So where as it semed before unjuste to recompense with unkindnes their paynes that have bene beneficiall to the publique weale, nowe they have to this their wrong and unjuste dealinge (which is yet a muche worse pointe) geven the name of justice, yea and that by force of a law.

**T**HEREFORE when I consider and way in my mind all these commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do florish, so God helpe me, I can perceave nothing but a certain conspiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities under the name and title of the commen wealth. They invent and devise all meanes and craftes, first how to kepe safely, without feare of lesing, that they have unjustly gathered together, & next how to hire and abuse the worke and labour of the poore for as litle money as

may be. ¶ These devises, when the riche men have decreed to be kept & observed under colour of the comminalltie, that is to saye, also of the pore people, then they be made lawes.

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

**B**UT these most wicked and vicious men, when they have by their unsatiabie covetousnes devided among them selves al those thinges, which woulde have sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the welth and felicitie of the Utopian commen wealth. Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the use thereof is utterly seclused & banished, howe greate a heape of cares is cut away. How great an occasion of wickednes & mischief is plucked up by the rotes, ¶ for who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, ravine, brauling, quarrelling, brabbling, striffe, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishmentes are rather revenged then refrained, do dye when money dieth? And also that feare, grieve, care, laboures, and watchinges, do perish even the very same moment that money perisheth?

Contempte  
of money



**V**EY poverty it selfe which only  
semed to lacke money, if money  
were gone, it also would decrease  
and vanishe away. And that you may  
perceave this more plainly, consider with  
your selves some barein and unfruteful  
yeare, wherein manye thousandes of peo-  
ple have starved for honger: I dare be  
bolde to say, that in the end of that pen-  
ury, so much corne or grain might have  
bene found in the rich mens barnes, if  
they had bene searched, as being divided  
among them whome famine and pesti-  
lence then consumed, no man at al should  
have felt that plague & penuri. So easely  
might men gette their living, if that same  
worthye princesse, lady money, did not  
alone stop up the waye betwene us & our  
lyving, which a Goddes name was very  
excellently devised and invented, that by  
her the way therto should be opened.

**I**am sewer the ryche men perceave  
this, nor they be not ignoraunte  
how much better it were too lacke  
noo necessarye thing, then to abunde  
with overmuch superfluite: to be ryd  
oute of innumerable cares and troubles,

then to be beseiged and encombred with  
 great ryches. And I dowtenot that either  
 the respecte of every mans private com-  
 moditie, or els the authority of oure sa-  
 vioure Christe (which for his great wis-  
 dom could not but know what were best,  
 and for his inestimable goodnes could  
 not but counsel to that which he knew to  
 be best) wold have brought all the worlde  
 longe agoo into the lawes of this weale  
 publike, if it wernot that one only beast,  
 the princesse & mother of all mischief,  
 Pride, doth withstande and let it. She  
 measureth not wealth & prosperity by  
 her owne commodities, but by the miserie  
 and incommodities of other, she would  
 not by her good will be made a goddesse,  
 yf there were no wretches left, over whom  
 she might like a scorneful ladie rule and  
 triumph, over whose miseries her felici-  
 ties mighte shyne, whose povertie she  
 myghte vexe, tormente, and encrease by  
 gorgiouslye settinge furthe her rich-  
 esse. Thys hell hounde creapeth into  
 mens hartes: and plucketh them backe  
 from entering the right pathe of life, and  
 is so depely roted in mens brestes, that  
 she can not be plucked out.

The  
 seconde  
 booke of  
 Utopia

A marvel-  
 ous sayinge

Pryde

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

**T**HIS fourme & fashion of a weale publique, which I would gladly wish unto al nations: I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the Utopians, which have folowed those institutions of life, whereby they have laid such foundations of their common wealth, as shal continew & last not only wealthely, but also as far as mans wit may judge & conjecture, shall endure for ever. ~~For~~ for, seying the chiefe causes of ambition and sedition, with other vices be plucked up by the rootes, and abandoned at home, there can be no jeopardie of domesticall dissention, whiche alone hath caste under foote & brought to nought the well fortified and stronglie defenced wealth & riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, & wholesome lawes be executed at home, the envie of al forein princes be not hable to shake or move the empire, though they have many tymes long ago gone about to do it, beyng evermore driven backe.



THUS when Raphaell hadde The  
made an ende of his tale, seconde  
though many thinges came booke of  
to my mind, which in the Utopia  
maners and lawes of that

people semed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not onely in the fashion of their cheualry, and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of al their ordinaunces, that is to say, in the communitie of their life and livynge, withoute anye occupieng of money, by the whiche thinge onelye, all nobilitie, magnificence, wourshippe, honour, and majestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, utterlye be overthrowen & destroied: yet because I knew that he was wery of talking, and was not sure whether he coulde abyde that anye thyng shoulde be sayde againste hys mynde: speciallye remembrynge that he had reprehended this faulte in other, which be aferde lest they should seme not to be wise enough, onles they could

The  
seconde  
booke of  
Utopia

find some fault in other mens inventions: therefore I praising both their institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, & led him into supper: sayinge that we woulde chuese an other time to waye and examine the same matters, & to talke with him moore at large therin. Whiche woulde God it might ones come to passe, ¶ In the meane time as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he saide, beyng els without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldelye matters exactly & profoundly experienced: so must I nedes confesse and graunt that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythlodaye concerning the lawes and institutions of the Ilande of Utopia.



To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, provost of Arienn, & counselloure to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles, Citizein of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicitie ❀❀



MORIS MORE,  
the singular orna-  
mente of this our  
age, as you your  
self (right hon-  
ourable Buslyde)  
can witnesse, to  
whome he is per-  
fectly wel know-  
en, sent unto me

this other day the ylande of Utopia, to  
very few as yet knowen, but most wor-  
thy, which as farre excellling Platoes  
commen wealthe, all people shoulde be  
willing to know: specially of a man most  
eloquent so finely set furth, so conning-  
ly painted out, and so evidently subject  
to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me  
thinketh that I see somewhat more, then  
when I heard Raphael Hythloday him-  
selfe (for I was present at that talke  
as well as master More) uttering and

pronouncing his owne woordes. Yea, though the same man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainly enough appeare to reporte not thinges which he had learned of others onely by hearesay, but which he had with his own eyes presently sene, & throughly vewed, and wherin he had no small time bene conversant and abiding: a man trulie, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience, muche passinge, yea, even the very famous and renowned travailer Vlysses: and in dede suche a one, as for the space of these viij. C. yeres past I think nature into the worlde brought not furth his like: in comparison of whome Vespuce maye be thoughte to have sene nothing.


**M**OREOVER, wheras we be wont more effectually & pitthely to declare & expresse thinges that we have sene, then whiche we have but onelye hearde, there was besides that in this man a certain peculiar grace and singular dexteritie, to discrive & set furth a mat-


ter withall. Yet the selfe same thinges  
as ofte as I beholde and consider them  
drawen and painted oute with master  
Mores pensille, I am therewith somoved,  
so delited, so inflamed, and so rapt, that  
sometime me think I am presently con-  
versaunt, even in the ylande of Utopia. ¶  
And I promise you, I can skante beleve  
that Raphael himselfe by al that five  
yeres space that he was in Utopia abid-  
ing, saw there somuch, as here in master  
Mores description is to be sene and per-  
ceaved. ¶ Whiche description with so  
manye wonders and miraculous thinges  
is replenished, that I stande in great  
doubt wherat first and chieflie to muse  
or marveile: whether at the excellencie  
of his perfect and suer memorie, which  
could welniagh worde by woorde re-  
hearse so manye thinges once onely  
heard: or elles at his singular prudence,  
who so well and wittily marked and bare  
away al the originall causes and foun-  
taynes (to the vulgare people commenly  
most unknowen) wherof both yssueth  
and springeth the mortall confusion &  
utter decaye of a commen wealth, & also

the avauncement and wealthy state of the same may rise and growe: or elles at the efficacie and pittie of his wordes, which in so fine a latin stile, with suche force of eloquence, hath couched together & comprised so many and diuers matters, speciallie beinge a man continuallie encombred with so manye busye and troublesome cares, both publique and private, as he is.


**N**OWBEIT all these thinges cause you litle to marvell (righte honourable Buslid) for that you are familiarly and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea, almost diuine witte of the man.


**B**UT now to procede to other matters, I suerly know nothing needefull or requisite to be adjoyned unto his writinges: onely a meter of iiij. verses written in the Utopian tongue, whiche after master Moyses departure Hythloday by chaunce shewed me, that haue I caused to be added thereto, with the Alphabete of the same nation, and haue also garnished the margent of the booke with certen notes. for, as touch-

inge the situation of the ylande, that is to saye, in what part of the worlde Utopia standeth, the ignoraunce and lacke whereof not a litle troubleth and greveth master More, in dede Raphael left not that unspoken of.  Howbeit with verie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by the way passing it over, as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and reserve that to an other place.

ND the same, I wot not how, by a certen evell & unluckie chaunce escaped us bothe. for when Raphael was speaking therof, one of Master Mores servauntes came to him, and whispered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng then of purpose more earnestly addict to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I thinke, a shippeborde, coughed out so loude, that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil never stynte, nor rest, until I have gotte the full & exacte knowledge hereof: insomuche that I will behable perfectly to instructe you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of the ylande, but also in the just latitude therof, that is to



say, in the sublevation or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in safetie & alive  for we heare very uncerten newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his jorney homeward. Some agayne affirme, that he returned into his countrey, but partly for that he coulde not away with the fashions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde & affection was altogether set & fixed upon Utopia, they say that he hath taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne.

 **N**OW as touching this, that the name of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde & ancient cosmographers, this doubt Hythloday himselfe verie well dissolved. for why, it is possible enoughe, quod he, that the name, whiche it had in olde time was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they never had knowledge of this iland: forasmuch as now in our time divers landes be found which to the olde geographers were unknowen. Howbeit, what needeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, seynge Master More

is author herof sufficient? But wheras he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, in deede herein I both com-  
mende, and also knowledge the mannes modestie.

**N**O W B E I T unto me it semeth a worke most unworthie to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abrod into the handes of men, yea, & under the title of youre name to be published to the worlde: either because the singular endowmentes and qualities of Master More be to no man better knowen then to you, or els bicause no man is more fitte and meete then you, with good coun-  
selles to further & avaunce the common wealth, wherein you have many yeares already continued and travailed with great glory & commendation, bothe of wisdom and knowledge, & also of integritie & uprightnes. Thus O liberall supporter of good learninge, and floure of this oure time, I byd you moste hartely well to fare.  
At Antwerpe, 1516, the first daye of November.

A meter of iiii. verses in the Utopian tongue, briefly touchinge as well the straunge beginning, as also the happie & wealthie continuance of the same common wealth. ❀ ❀



TOPOS ha Boccas peula  
chama polta chamaan,  
Bargol hemaglomí Baccan  
soma gymnosophaon,  
Agrama gymnosophon la/  
barembacha bodamílomin  
Voluala barchín heman la lavoluala  
dramme pagloní.

Whiche verses the translator, accordinge to his simple knowledge and meane understanding in the Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely Englished. ❀ ❀



U kinge and conquerour  
Utopus by name,  
A prince of much renowme  
and immortall fame,  
Hath made me an yle that  
earst no ylande was,  
ful fraught with worldly welth, with pleasure  
and solas.  
I one of all other without philosophie

Have shaped for man a philosophicall  
citie.

As myne I am nothinge daungerous to  
imparte,

So better to receave I am readie with al  
my harte.

*A shortemeter of Utopia, written by Ane/  
molius, poete laureate, & nephewe to Hy/  
thlodaye by his sister ❀❀*



E Utopie cleped An-  
tiquitie,

Voyde of haunte & herbor/  
oughe,

Nowe am I like to Platoes  
citie,

Whose fame flieth the worlde throughe.

Yea like, or rather more likely

Platoes platte to excell and passe.

For what Platoes penne hathe platted  
briefely

In naked wordes, as in a glasse,

The same have I perfourmed fully,

With lawes, with men, & treasure fyttely,

Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightely

My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

Gerarde Noviomage of Utopia. ❀ ❀



OTH pleasure please? then  
place the here, and well the  
rest,  
Most pleasaunt pleasures  
thou shalte finde here.  
Doeth profit ease? then  
here arrive, this yle is best.  
for passinge profettes do here appeare.  
Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest  
thou gripe both gaine and pleasure?  
This yle is fraight with both bounte-  
ously.  
To still thy gredie intent, reape here in-  
comparable treasure  
Bothe minde and tongue to garnishe  
richelie.  
The hid welles and fountaines both of  
vice and vertue  
Thou hast them here subject unto thine  
eye.  
Be thankful now, and thankes where  
thankes be due  
Geve to Thomas More, Londons im-  
mortal glorie.



**Cornelius Graphey to the Reader** ❀ ❀



**A**LT thou knowe what  
wonders straunge be in the  
lande that late was founde?  
Wilt thou learne thy life to  
leade, by diuers ways that  
godly be?

Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, under-  
stande the very grounde?

Wilt thou see this wretched world, how  
ful it is of vanitie?

Then read, and marke, and beare in mind,  
for thy behoufe, as thou maie best.

All thinges that in this present worke,  
that worthie clerke sir Thomas More,  
With witte diuine ful learnedly, unto the  
worlde hath plaine exprest,

In whom London well glory maye, for  
wisedome and for godly lore.

**The Printer to the Reader** ❀ ❀

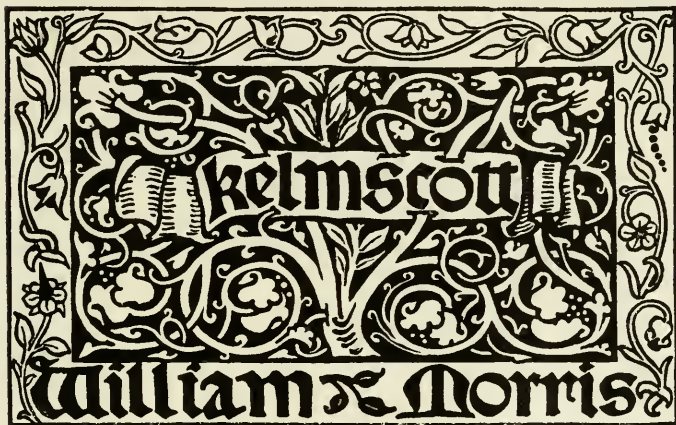


**T**HE Utopian Alphabete,  
good Reader, whiche in the  
above written Epistle is  
promised, hereunto I have  
not now adjoyned, because  
I have not as yet the true  
characters or fourmes of the Utopiane

letters. And no marveill: seyng it is a tongue to us muche straunger then the Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclavonian, the Ciprian, the Scythian etc. Which tongues, though they be nothing so straunge among us as the Utopian is, yet their characters we have not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impression hereof to perfourme that whiche nowe I can not: that is to saye: to exhibite perfectly unto thee the Utopian Alphabete. In the meane time accept my good wyl. And so fare well.

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